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ERRATUM

Vol. VIII, p. 168, line 10 from foot:
for 'Megiddo V-VII' *read* 'Megiddo Stages V-VII'.



1. The complete fresco.



2. The seated pair.

MARWA

A PAINTED TOMB AT MARWA

I. *The Tomb and its Clearance*

INDIGENOUS monuments of artistic importance are not too numerous in Palestine. Therefore a well-preserved fresco is a discovery of more than usual interest. In 1935, in a tomb on village land, people of the village of Marwa, or Maru,¹ about 7 kilometres north-east of 'Irbid in Trans-Jordan, happened upon a fresco which is at present unique in the archaeological annals of Palestine and Syria. Rains washed an opening large enough for a man to crawl through into the chamber. The discovery was reported to Mr. George Horsfield, then Chief Curator of Antiquities for the Trans-Jordan Government, and, at his request, the excavation and recording of the tomb on behalf of the Department of Antiquities was undertaken by the writer, then acting Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, with the assistance of Dr. A. Bergman, Thayer Fellow of the School.

Leaving Jerusalem on 14 March with tent and other equipment, we spent the night in the Expedition house at Jerash, and next morning, with Rashīd Effendi, Antiquities Guard, went to Marwa and through a kilometre of grain fields to the tomb (Plate II, 1). Before three o'clock, thanks to Dr. Bergman's enterprise and the assistance of several men from the village, with camp made and lunch eaten, work was begun on the tomb entrance. Only six men were employed in the beginning, eight next morning, and ten in the afternoon and the following morning. The amount of debris was small, and before noon on the seventeenth all of the earth had been removed and the loculi, which were almost entirely empty, had been searched for possible remains.² Photographs were taken by electric flash lamps and flash powder at night, and by daylight at noon, when the sun shone in the open door and the men were taking their noon-day rest. Measurements were taken and other records made largely during the evenings and in the afternoon of the 17th when digging was finished. The next day the tomb was walled up and the entrance covered with earth to prevent vandalism. One of the workmen remarked after they had finished, 'there never was a tomb here'.

The tomb lies on a hill-side facing southward (Pl. II, 2), a few yards west of a well from which the women of a neighbouring Bedouin camp regularly secured their water. The land, so we were informed, was common property

¹ On the maps the name appears as Meru or Maru. The men who worked for us insisted that the name is Marwa.

² Mr. and Mrs. Horsfield and Mr. Lankester Harding, now Chief Curator of Antiquities, visited the tomb on the morning of the 17th.

of the village, but it was expected that, following the new cadastral survey, it would be divided. The outer lintel of the entrance bore 70° east of north. The highest point in Marwa village, about a kilometre and a half away, bore 60° east of north, and the village of Kakama, about the same distance away and visible from a point just a little above the entrance, 55° south of east (Pl. II, 1). The nearest village on the west, Beit Rās, is some 2 kilometres distant. The hill behind to the north-west is honeycombed with caves, many of them broken down, with old cisterns, and with tombs. That the region was once occupied by a large population seems clear. It is an attractive country, fertile and now well cultivated. There are few extremely rocky hills, but *balāt*, i.e. flat limestone rock, protrudes frequently. In the immediate neighbourhood there are no deep gorges, but wide fertile valleys. The sharply cut wadis running to the Yarmūq begin a little farther north.

Preliminary inspection revealed that the entrance to the tomb was filled with earth which reached almost to the lintel of the doorway (Pl. III, 1). The debris sloped down, at the natural angle of fall, to a point a little beyond the middle of the tomb and spread out barely to the wall on each side at the front. At the back of the tomb and under the earth were many large pieces of rock, including fragments of a basalt sarcophagus top. The base of a short sarcophagus stood in one corner (Pl. IV, 2). All the earth was removed. The larger pieces of stone were first piled in an unoccupied corner and later used to wall up the tomb.

Unfortunately, the tomb had been thoroughly rifled in antiquity. It may have been used as a dwelling, for fragments of blackened cooking-pots were found in the debris which closed it. It would seem that it had been left 'empty, swept, and garnished', and had been intentionally closed by filling the entrance and *dromos* with earth. Not a coin was discovered; there were pieces of two lamps and of two glass 'tear-bottles'. Otherwise there was nothing of the usual tomb deposits. In the debris which filled the entrance the pottery was coarse-ribbed Byzantine ware.

The tomb was extremely simple in its plan and execution, merely a rectangular room with a rectangular offset at the back (Fig. 1).¹ There had been no ornamental façade, nor apparently any stairway, but only a ramp leading down to a very simple doorway (Pl. III, 2). On the right, as one enters, the rabbeted door-frame still remains, on the left it is broken away. There was no sign of sockets for door-pivots in the sill nor for lock or bar in the frame. But the latter may have been on the broken side and the sockets for pivots may possibly have been worn away. The careful cutting of the doorway

¹ Fig. 1 is based on measurements and sketches made by Dr. Bergman.

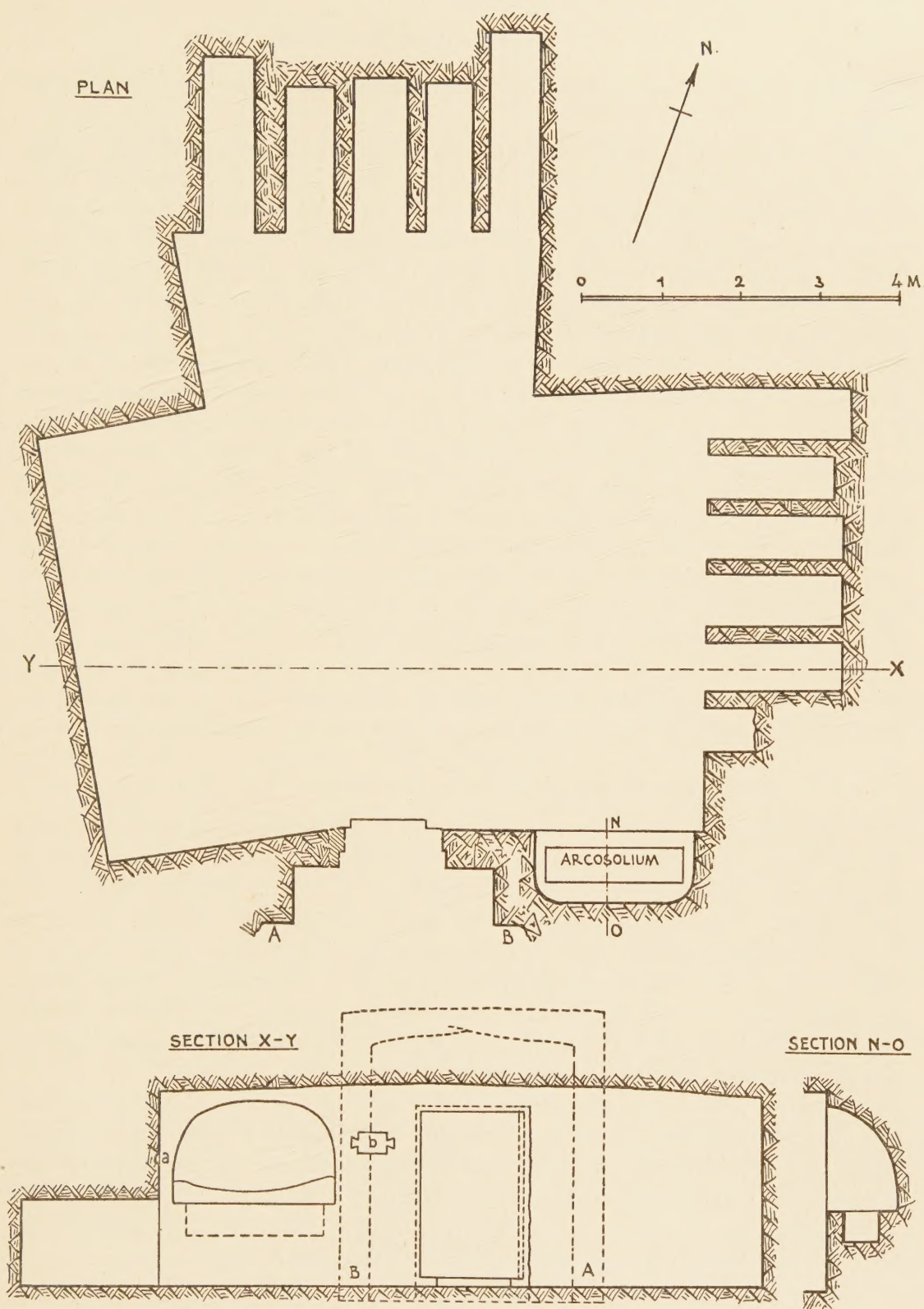


FIG. 1. The Marwa Tomb—Plan and Sections.

points to a door of some kind opening outward as in the intention of the maker.

The room seemed to be rectangular, but measurement proved that the angles were not all right angles. The chamber measured between 7.50 and 8.50 m. from east to west and from 5.40 to 5.60 m. from north to south. The well-preserved, horizontal ceiling was between 2.23 and 2.52 m. above the floor, highest at the centre, lowest at the back. Loculi of the *kokhim* type, not all of them finished, had been cut into the back wall, on two sides of the rear offset, and on the east side, all but one practically on the floor-level. Nearly all had flat tops. A few showed a slight arching (Pl. IV, 1-2). The west side of the large room and the south wall west of the doorway were entirely smooth. Apparently a grave had been begun in the floor near the north-west corner.

The paintings were on an arcosolium cut into the south wall between the doorway and the east wall. The bench, or floor, of the arcosolium was about a metre above the floor of the room, the top of the arch 2.28 m. above the floor. The length of the arcosolium bench was 2.00 m., the width 0.89 m., and the rectangular receptacle for the body was 1.72 m. long, 0.49 m. wide, and 0.45 m. deep. It had been covered by a lid like those placed over sarcophagi, and the line of the top shows against the wall on the three sides of the arcosolium. The arcosolium was like a flattened apse and, since the painting was upon this surface, which curved out to the front at the top and around the ends of the bench, it was difficult to record by camera without distortion.

II. *The Paintings and their Problems* (Pl. I, 1-2)

The paintings are in strange contrast to the crude cutting and bare simplicity of the tomb. The Marisa painted tombs are fairly elaborate in plan and in the architectural forms which are imitated. The cutting is much more carefully done. The recently discovered tomb complex of Sheikh 'Ibreiq is a marvel of complexity and of ingenious and careful carving.¹ Both of these samples of Palestinian sepulchral art are in *nari* limestone, almost as soft as chalk. The Marwa tomb is in much harder *mizzi*. But still that hardly explains the contrast between the crudely but efficiently cut chamber and the care lavished on the one arcosolium.

On a surface very carefully and smoothly covered with hard plaster appear two different groups. Above, within the arcosolium, a male and a female figure are seated upon a couch, flanked by a Cerberus at the left end and a basket of fruit at the right. Above them is a festoon and, below, a line

¹ See *QDAP*, Vol. VI, pp. 222-3, Vol. VII, pp. 51-3, *JPOS*, Vol. XVIII (1938), pp. 41-9, and *ILN*, 18 June 1938, pp. 1100 f.; *Bul. JPES*, Vol. V, pp. 51-76.

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indicating the ground or floor. In the background are unconnected branches of some kind of shrub or tree. Below the arcosolium bench are masks of three youthful maiden heads. Between each pair depends a festoon and ribbons. The whole arcosolium is surrounded by a heavy black band, 8 cm. wide, which continues to the floor on the flat wall at the right side, but only to the bench in the corner on the left.

At the right, between the arcosolium and the door, on a rectangle of plastered wall, is a painted inscription within a painted *tabula ansata* (*b* in section *X-Y*, Fig. 1). At the left side, just around the turn of the corner at about the level of the eyes, a small shelf and niche were cut into the wall (*a* in section *X-Y*) to form, as a black splotch above showed, a rest for a lamp of the ordinary small Roman kind.

The colours of the fresco are soft, but remarkably well preserved, and the paintings appear never to have suffered serious injury till the Marwa people discovered the tomb and in their Moslem zeal hacked out the faces of the two principal figures and, still more unfortunately and inexcusably, most of the inscription. Fortunately they overlooked the remarkable Cerberus and the three maidens. The earth and inflowing water have made a line, which washing could only partly remove, over the face of the maiden nearest the door but below the other two. Single features of the other faces have suffered from cracks or slight discoloration and some lines have disappeared. The chief figures have suffered hardly at all from natural causes. Both compositions as a whole are almost perfectly preserved.

Such a painting is as yet absolutely unique in Palestine or Syria. The idea is much like that of many Greek and Hellenistic funerary stelae, but the detail is entirely different. The frescoes from Palmyra, recently published by Dr. Harald Ingholt, are similar in colouring and method, but much stiffer in composition and technique. The Quseir 'Amra paintings are on the whole freer and more highly coloured, as befits their subjects and purpose. The Marisa tomb paintings present no close parallels, neither do the various Alexandrian painted stelae and tombs.¹

In the near neighbourhood of the Marwa tomb is another which once was similarly decorated. It has long been open and only traces of the colours are left, yet sufficient to prove that the tomb cleared was not alone in its decoration. It seems, therefore, that Mr. Horsfield, when he asked that the tomb be cleared, was right in pointing out that it indicated the existence of a special and perhaps unique school of painting in Trans-Jordan at some time in the Roman period.

¹ See below, pp. 24 ff.

What were the sources of inspiration of such a school of artists? Whence did they draw their subject-matter? Who were the teachers of their art? What are their relations to the art of Hellenism, of Rome, of the East, and of the Byzantine world? Where do they stand in the course of the evolution of the artistic tradition and what contribution, if any, did they make?

The discussion of these problems must necessarily throw light upon the history of the Decapolis. It touches the history of the penetration of the East by the West and of the borrowing of cultural elements by the West from the East. It involves the discussion of the history of art, dress, and adornment. But much more than that, it involves the historical study of religion and mythology, for the Cerberus, the basket, and the little 'crowns' on the heads of the two principal figures, not to mention other features, point to mythological symbolism or religious faith behind the picture. It will not be possible here to do more than touch upon the chief features of these problems, leaving their further discussion to specialists in the various fields.¹

Since the inscription is so badly defaced, it becomes necessary to depend chiefly upon comparisons with other artistic remains for a dating of the painting as well as for a solution of its problems. Unfortunately the tomb probably belongs to a period, the second, third, or fourth century A.D., which was not remarkably original and productive and which also, partly for that reason, has been neglected. The paintings are, therefore, so much the more important, but their problems so much the more uncertain of solution.

The problems to be considered are those of dress, hairdressing, and furniture; the painter's technique; and the mythological and symbolical features, the basket, the 'crowns', the sceptre or staff, the torch, the Cerberus, and the inscription with its one clearly preserved, significant word, Pluto, and with the thereby suggested allusion to the underworld and its rulers. The almost negligible ceramic finds demand separate treatment.

III. *The Couch or Settee*

Although it is clear at first glance that the representation has to do with the underworld, yet it is noteworthy, first of all, that the two central figures are represented in a familiar pose, they are dressed in conventional clothing, and they are seated upon an ordinary couch or κλίνη covered with a striped

¹ I am indebted to Dr. C. S. Fisher, Père H. Vincent, Sir Flinders Petrie, Mr. J. H. Iliffe, Dr. Harald Ingholt, Prof. H. R. Willoughby, Dr. W. H. Dubberstein, Prof. W. C. Graham, Mr. F. E. Brown, and others too numerous to mention for the opportunity to discuss these problems with them and for suggestions looking toward their solution. I am under special obligation to Prof. Carl Watzinger for his advice and his permission to use the extensive library in his seminar rooms. Other general obligations are expressed in the bibliography.

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cushion. The couch is much like the folding stool with crossed legs which appears in many ancient seals, painting, and reliefs—especially, but far from exclusively, in Roman camps—and was in use through many centuries.¹ Its history and that of the cushion which often accompanies it can be followed in preserved examples and in art from early Sumerian and Egyptian models through the Greeks, the Etruscans, and the Romans.² The crossing of the legs and the juncture of the legs and rails were often marked by concentric circles as in the Marwa example. The legs, as probably at Marwa, often end in the feet of an animal, a lion for example, or the hoofs of a donkey or goat, and the hocks of the hind legs were often realistically modelled.

It is impossible to know how the legs of the structurally fantastic Marwa couch were supposed to be arranged. Clearly the artist has not shown all of those at the rear and there must have been others at the left end, else it could not have been expected to support the none-too-ethereal weight imposed upon it. Apparently it is composed of two camp-stools joined into one and thus forms a settee intended for two persons, with arm-rests at the ends. However, the last are not properly placed and may represent a back-rest.³ No other back-rest is indicated in the picture, but that proves nothing, as there is hardly a space back of the figures where it might appear. A folding stool with a low back appears on a Roman coin which shows Octavius seated.⁴ The couch with a back, apparently a Roman invention, appears in the first century B.C.,⁵ and it developed into what we would call a settee. Either couch or settee is, therefore, possible at Marwa.

Unfortunately no characteristics appear which afford chronological data. Fashions in so simple and useful a piece of furniture did not change radically enough to mark the passage of the centuries. However, if the artist is trying to represent an actual piece of furniture, the complicated structure would possibly point to a late rather than an early period.

¹ Cf. the Pompeian painting, S. Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1922, p. 316, 1; one of the Cupid frescoes in the house of the Vettii, Gisela M. A. Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, Oxford, 1926, Fig. 302; a cup from Boscoreale, S. Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains*, Paris, 1909, Vol. I, p. 94 (33.2); on the Trajan column, *ibid.*, pp. 333 (10), 342 (37); on the column of Marcus Aurelius, *ibid.*, p. 299 (20); and the arch of Constantine, *ibid.*, p. 247 f.

² Cf. Richter, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–43, 106 f., 126 f. For 'archaic and Sumerian' examples see H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell* (OIP, XXII), Chicago, 1934, pp. 119 ff.

³ Caroline A. Ransom-Williams, *Studies in Ancient Furniture*, Chicago, 1905, p. 59, Fig. 31, shows a couch with similar curved ends on a Roman sarcophagus from Syria, now in the museum at Istanbul.

⁴ Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 126; Babelon, *Monnaies de la république romaine*, Vol. II, p. 65, No. 155, the *sella curulis*.

⁵ Richter, *op. cit.*, pp. 133 f.

IV. *The Three Masks*

The most natural interpretation of the three faces which appear on the wall of the arcosolium bench below its grave (Pl. I, 1) is that they are decorative masks. It has been suggested that they are the three Graces, or the three Fates, or the three Horae. But the fact that there are no distinctive attributes to indicate which of these various groups they may represent is itself evidence that they are none of the three. The contrast between their indefinite character and the clearly indicated mythological personalities of the recently discovered Khirbet et-Tannūr busts is illuminating.¹ The absence of any indication of neck, bust, or body is decisive.

That they are portraits would hardly be maintained by any one. While not exactly the same, the hairdressing, the eyebrows, and the other features, so far as preserved, differ very slightly. The eyes of the face on the left and the head on the right turn slightly toward the centre. The central head drops a little toward the left. But they are not artistically combined. Each is an independent frontal representation. The three form no unified group in spite of the connecting festoons. They are, indeed, exactly parallel to the heads which appear on friezes and sarcophagi.

The festoons which hang between the heads are a common feature of sarcophagus decorations. They appear also on friezes and in mosaics which imitate friezes. In a Gerasene mosaic, soon to be published, they are held up by Cupids. On sarcophagi they most often hang from bucrania. Their use in the Marwa painting departs slightly from customary usage in that they do not hang from any integral part of the representation.

V. *Costume*

The dress of the two chief figures is decidedly Greek rather than Roman. The male figure wears a typical short, closed Ionian *chiton*, sewed over the arm and along the side. It was wide enough to form a sleeve down to the elbow. The colour is blue with the folds shown in black. The edge of the neck and sleeves has a deep border in black and the breast a panel, a single *clavus latus*, with a black border and red loops. As Professor Watzinger suggested to me, it is probably a *clavus purpureus*. The red loops represent folds and the colour should be that of the woman's *chiton*. In other words the artist forgot his ground colour.

The outer garment is a *himation*, which covers the left arm and shoulder and is brought around very loosely at the waist over lap and legs. The artist

¹ BASOR, 64, p. 1; 65, p. 18; 67, p. 13.

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apparently represented the lower corner of the outer, right end as falling down beside the left knee, the other corner as thrown over the left forearm, but not over the left shoulder as is supposed to have been the best form. However, this fashion of arranging the *himation* is natural and is quite common in seated figures.¹

The feet are shod with sandals fastened with wide thongs interlaced to a point above the ankles. In front are three thongs which appear to run up from the sole on both sides of the second and third toes. It is possible, however, that the thong between the great and the second toe divided at the instep, as it often did, and that the third line represents a thong between the second and third toe.

Since the lady's highly coloured *chiton* falls over the instep, as it always does in ancient representations of modest women, and her feet are merely indicated by triangles, it is impossible to determine exactly the character of her foot covering. It must be shoes, not sandals, as no thongs are shown.

Her clothing is as clearly Greek as is the male's. A long *chiton*, red or purple in colour, reaches from neck to toe. It is so completely covered by the *himation* that it is impossible to be sure whether it was sewed over the shoulders or was fastened with fibulae or buttons. But since the man's *chiton* shows no sign of button or pin it is probable that the woman's was also sewed. No long sleeve is certainly indicated but only a bracelet on the left wrist, the one place where a little of the arm appears.

The *himation* is worn in typical Greek fashion so as completely to cover both arms and to serve as a veil over the back of the head. The right forearm and elbow must have slipped out of the folds in order that the hand might be placed on the man's right shoulder, but the arm is hidden behind him and the folds cover the shoulder seam of the *chiton*. The upper part of the right end of the *himation* seems to have been folded into a sort of belt or roll just below the breasts. As in the case of the man, the right end of the garment is not thrown over the left shoulder and, since the left arm is raised, none of it can fall over the forearm. On the contrary, it seems to be drawn tightly around the left side under the arm, and must have been fastened in some fashion, which the picture, of course, in no way indicates. Possibly it may be thought of as tucked under the hidden *zônē*. That such a mode of arranging a woman's *himation* was not uncommon is shown by numerous seated and

¹ Cf. S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, Vol. II, 2nd ed., Paris, 1908, pp. 18 ff. (several seated Pluto-Serapis figures); p. 630, Nos. 3, 6; p. 631, No. 1; Vol. III, p. 182, Nos. 9 ff.; Vol. IV, p. 398, Nos. 3, 5, 6; p. 399, Nos. 2, 3; Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. des ant.*, s.v. 'Pluto', Vol. IV, p. 517, Fig. 5716.

standing statues of female figures, though none, perhaps, is an exact parallel to this one. Literary evidence is given in Plutarch's description of Panteus' wife as 'belting herself with her *himation*' (περιζωσαμένη τὸ ἱμάτιον) after 'the execution of the Spartan king, his children, and his mother, when she was preparing to render the dead her last possible service of love before following them'.¹ Indeed it is evident that it was a common custom to draw up the middle of the right end of the *himation* and fasten it under the wearer's left arm, where it was held by the elbow or by knotting it or perhaps tucking it under the *zōnē*, so that the lower part formed a short overskirt over the *chiton*, while the upper corner fell down in front like a triangular apron, an *Ueberschlag* to use the common German term, instead of being gathered in folds over the left arm.² The heavy brown line curving down into the Marwa lady's lap may represent this falling flap, although more probably it merely stands for the folds in the garment. The heavy folds at the end must have fallen down behind her at her left side, as, for example, in a Berlin statue of a standing lady.³ Two Hellenistic statues described by Margarete Bieber illustrate this point and also ways in which the right end of the *himation* might be held in place.⁴

The lady's outer garment looks so smooth and scant, compared with those shown in statues and vase paintings, as to raise the question whether she does not wear a high-belted skirt over the *chiton* and a separate veil over the head. The position of the figures is such that no connexion between the end of the veil and the part covering the body is clearly visible. However, a slight turn of lines running upwards from the lady's waist behind the man's arm may be intended to show the connexion. In any case there are few examples of an unconnected veil or shawl in Greek or Roman art, and none of such a separate 'overskirt' above the *chiton*. The hypothetical 'veil' and the 'overskirt' are represented in the same colours and doubtless are of one piece. The heavy border which is shown below the left wrist appears in two lines also at the bottom and on the folded belt. It is, therefore, much more probable that the artist's carelessness or want of skill is responsible for the lack of apparent

¹ F. Studniczka, 'Imagines Illustrium', in *Jb. d. deutsch. archäol. Inst.*, 38-9 (1923-4), p. 103; Plutarch, Cleomenes, 38.

² Cf. Reinach, *Rép. de la statuaire*, Vol. I, p. 601, No. 6; p. 604, No. 3; p. 605, No. 6. See also the fine Pompeian statue of the priestess Eumachia, Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, New York, 1899, p. 438, Fig. 245; and the 'Hellenistic Ruler' and the 'Fisherman' in Margarete Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1928, Pl. XLI, 2 f.

³ Reinach, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 654, No. 2.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Pls. XXVII, 2 f., and XXXIII, 2 f. Cf. her comments on the latter. The means of holding the right end of the *himation* in place which she mentions do not suit the position of the arms in the picture.

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connexion as well as the lack of voluminous folds. Although it is possible that fashion at the time had decreed the use of less voluminous *himatia* than in earlier periods and other regions, for such an assumption there appears to be no warrant. Two upward-curving brown lines which cross below the right knee suggest an unskilful attempt to represent the crossing of the two ends of the *himation* which, in the Hellenistic lady from Aphrodisias, meet beside the left knee, but the lines are too far to the right and more probably represent the folds which the *himation* took as its end was drawn up over the left hip.¹

Since certain features of the painting suggest eastern connexions, especially with Palmyra, it is important to note that nothing in the dress of either figure points to borrowing from that direction. The long, fitted sleeves, the pantaloons, the boots, the mantle caught up on one shoulder or the other by a brooch, the rich embroidery, the *tarbūsh*-like head-dress, all these characteristic items of Palmyrene clothing are wanting here.

Since printed reproductions of statuary and paintings in colour are not common even where colours are preserved, it would be impossible to find exact parallels to those of the garments in this case without travelling far and wide. However, there is sufficient evidence in the Roman portraits from Hawara, for example, to show that the ancient world for the most part rioted in colours even as the landscape in which they lived did in spring. Women, especially, often wore profusely decorated garments, but the *chiton* was often much more highly coloured than the *himation*, and that seems to have been true in this case of both the man and the woman. The woman's tunic, which shows at the breast and just above the feet, was a rich purple, the man's was blue with purple (?) *clavus*. The outer garments of both are a light buff or creamy flesh colour with dark brown borders, and a brownish cast is given them by the light and dark stripes of brown which are used to suggest the folds of the garments.

The lady wears bracelets on her left wrist and has a red necklace. Nothing more in the way of jewellery appears. The maiden faces on the wall below the bench appear to have had ribbons hanging from their throats, but there is no indication of a neck-band. This ribbon appears clearly only in one case, the best-preserved one on the left, and there its relation to the figure is uncertain, as it would be, depending from a mask.

¹ Bieber, *Griech. Kleid.*, Pl. XXXIII, Nos. 2 f.; in the 'Maiden with the Shield', from Boscoreale, the lines meet at the centre, but higher; cf. Studniczka, *op. cit.* (p. 10, n. 1), Pl. III.

VI. *Coiffure*

The hairdressing of the four female figures in the pictures raises numerous questions. It has special significance for the chronological and religious problems involved. In all four cases the hair falls down over the forehead and upon the temples in the fashion which, in antiquity, was generally approved because it made the forehead seem low, and it is curled more or less elaborately on the top and sides of the head, while long curling or wavy tresses fall down in front of each shoulder and divide into two strands. The lady's hair, although in part hacked away, has quite clearly been less artificially treated over the forehead than that of the three maidens. It is drawn loosely and simply in gentle waves from the parting, resembling the Naples painting of Arcadia.¹ By the temples, over the ears, and down to the neck it is puffed out and curled, and the curls hang down to the girdled *himation*.

The hair of the three maidens below is much more elaborately dressed. Each one gives somewhat the appearance of the 'melon hairdressing' which is seen in the Ostian maiden in the Glyptothek at Munich, and the various examples of the so-called 'lady of Herculaneum'.² But closer examination discovers that the hair is regularly waved like that of the Aphrodite of Corneto.³ On the first and third figures, however, in front over the centre of the forehead on each side of the part, it has been cut into bangs which are carefully curled into ringlets and hang well down toward the eyebrows, as in many busts of Septimius Severus. It appears that separate locks were curled over the temples. The central mask has a much less orderly *coiffure* than the other two. Stray ringlets spring wildly out from the waves, and the top waves, one on each side of the part, appear to be built up somewhat as on the Vienna Kore, though much less elaborately.⁴

There is nothing unusual in the various artifices used in the dressing of the hair. Ancient literature as well as art testifies that such practices were common. Indeed, both in the Hellenistic and the Roman age, early and late, there were recurring periods when women's hairdressing was far more elaborate and tortuously artificial than in the Marwa pictures. Waves in the hair, somewhat like those of the Marwa ladies, belong to the best periods of classic and Hellenistic art. They appear in the Livia of Ny Carlsberg and the elder Agrippina from Cyrene,⁵ but the Marwa heads escape 'the harsh regularity'

¹ Ludwig Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, Leipzig, 1929, p. 6, Fig. 3.

² Bieber, *Griech. Kleid.*, Pls. LIX, 7; XXIX f.

³ *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVII, 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Pls. XXVIII, 3, and LX, 7 f. Prof. Watzinger called my attention to the remarkable resemblance to the three or four frontal curls of Septimius Severus, as he saw it on all three heads.

⁵ *Cambridge Anc. Hist.*, Plates, Vol. IV, p. 166, *b*, *c*.

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of these *coiffures* and resemble much more closely the softness of the beautiful Pompeian portrait of Livia, which lacks the closely curling ringlets of the other two.¹ The last, indeed, is rather more irregular in its waves than the Marwa heads.

Still more elaborate *coiffures* were affected by imperial ladies until the Severan period, when waves again became the style. Julia Domna usually has rather soft waves.² Plautilla, wife of Caracalla (211–17), and Julia Mamaea, mother of Severus Alexander (222–5), both wore their hair in waves which, again, were far more elaborate and tightly set than those on the heads of the Marwa ladies.³ Is it possible that the techniques of sculptor and designer of coins led them to represent the hairdresser's artistic effects in a stiffer fashion than they deserved? Perhaps the painter catches the actual appearance more accurately.

Wavy hair, toward the end of the Severan period, gave way to a new style which might leave the front of the head perfectly plain and brought a flattened pigtail or brush of hair up from the back well toward the forehead. This ugly *coiffure* is seen in the coin portraits of Tranquillina, Otacilia Severa, and Cornelia Salonina, and something like it persists till the time of Helena, mother of Constantine, sometimes combined with waves in front.⁴ Two third-century portrait busts, now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, both thought to have come from Askalon, illustrate this peculiarly hideous style. Mr. Iliffe argues that they portray Syrian princesses related to the imperial family.⁵

It can hardly be supposed that the conception of hairdressing exhibited by an artist in a Decapolitan tomb will be a sure reflection of the fashions which the ladies of the court were following at the moment. Both C. C. Edgar and Sir Flinders Petrie assumed a fairly close imitation of Rome in the provinces.⁶ But the latter argued for a lag of fifty to seventy years between imperial Roman and provincial fashions. Drerup believes it possible to show a certain lag in some cases. He finds that the Egyptian fashions are far from being

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 168, from the Villa dei Misteri; cf. Mrs. Strong's remarks, *Cambridge Anc. Hist.*, Vol. X, pp. 561, 564.

² Reinach, *Rép. de la statuaire*, Vol. I, p. 156, 6; Vol. II, p. 240, 6(?), p. 685, 1(?).

³ See article 'Coma', by E. Pottier, M. Albert, and E. Saglio in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. des ant.*, Vol. I, pp. 1369 f.; Steininger, article 'Haartracht und Haarschmuck', in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, Vol. VII, especially cols. 2137–45, and the more useful illustrated article, 'Haartracht', by Marg. Stephan, *ibid.*, *Supplementband VI* (1935), cols. 90–102.

⁴ See Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.*, Vol. I, p. 1369 f.

⁵ Iliffe, 'Third Century Portrait Busts', *QDAP*, Vol. II (1932–3), pp. 11 ff.

⁶ Edgar, 'On the Dating of the Fayum Portraits', *JHS*, 25 (1905), pp. 225–33; Petrie, *Roman Portraits*, London, 1911, p. 12 f.

mere imitations of those of Rome, but that the women follow Roman fashion more closely than do the men, except in the latter part of the Antonine period. Beginning with Septimius Severus the influence of Roman *coiffures* becomes less evident, so he believes.¹ Unfortunately, indubitable documentary or archaeological evidence for the exact dating of fashions in the provinces has not yet been presented.

If one may depend upon the indicia of sartorial fashion and artistic style as seen in imperial portraits and assume that Roman fashions were copied by artists as well as ladies in all parts of the Empire, the treatment of the ladies' hair points to the Severan period. The curls on the forehead, after the fashion of Septimius Severus, although transferred from man to woman, were taken by Professor Watzinger as decisive evidence.² The waving of the hair over the forepart of the head, as was the custom of the imperial ladies in the Claudian and Severan periods, indicated the latter rather than the former age, for such a tomb and such evidence of Roman influence are less likely before Trajan established Provincia Arabia.

On the same assumptions, the treatment of the man's hair and beard points to the end of the Antonine and the beginning of the Severan period. As is well known, the custom of shaving, however initiated, spread rapidly in the time of Alexander, and in the Greek and Roman world it was the rule until the reign of Hadrian. Because of facial defects, so it is said, he initiated a return to the more primitive beard, and this fashion was common, though by no means universal, until the time of Constantine. The Antonine emperors glory in heavy, luxuriantly curling hair and beards. A Fogg Museum portrait of a man shows a treatment of the hair which closely resembles that of the Marwa man.³ The Berlin portrait of a certain Perseus is similar but done with finer pencilling.⁴ The one shows striking resemblances to portraits of Marcus Aurelius, the other to those of Commodus.⁵ The era of Septimius Severus is said to have increased the vulgar tendencies to uncouthness which were already at work. 'Over-emphasized and coarsely drawn outlines and scrawled cross-hatchings form the essential constituents of the drawing.'⁶ While other considerations, to be mentioned later, enter into the estimate to be placed upon the Marwa frescoes,⁷ the judgement applies to them also, and especially

¹ Dr. Heinrich Drerup, *Die Datierung der Mumienporträts*, Paderborn, 1933, pp. 20 ff., 50 f. I do not understand his argument regarding Antonia.

² Oral communication in June 1936.

³ *Bulletin Fogg Art Museum*, 2 (1932), p. 5, Fig. 3; *Handbook*, p. 6 (Nos. 420-1931).

⁴ Berlin, Staatl. Mus., Antiquarium, No. 31161/5.

⁵ Unfortunately neither is independently datable; see Drerup, *Datierung der Mumienporträts*, Pls. 11, 12.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁷ See below, pp. 24-6.

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to the treatment of the hair, when allowance is made for the difference of medium.

A peculiar feature of the *coiffures* of the Marwa tomb is the heavy curls or tresses, hanging down over the ears upon the shoulders of all four of the female figures and reaching to their breasts. One searches almost in vain through classical, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine times for portraits of women in real life who wear their hair in such a fashion. It does not appear in the fine Roman mummy portraits, nor on coins or statuary. Toward the end of the reign of Tiberius and in the Claudian period certain imperial ladies, the elder and younger Agrippinas and Statilia Messalina, had curling locks which hung from behind the ears down almost to the shoulders. Usually the hair was caught together loosely at the nape of the neck, and a single curl drawn forward over the shoulder. The fashion is found on mummy portraits, statuary, and reliefs, presumably from about the Claudian period. Sabina, wife of Hadrian, sometimes follows a similar fashion. Otherwise it is unknown until the Severan period when Tranquillina, Otacilia Severa, and Herennia Etruscilla have curls of various kinds reaching to the shoulders. In one bust Otacilia Severa has very heavy curls hanging down to the shoulders and covering her ears, and apparently other Roman ladies followed her example.¹ None of these fashions, however, offers a sufficient parallel to the long tresses of the Marwa ladies' heads.

This is equally true of the fashion in which the single male figure wears his hair. Though Antonine emperors, Lucius Verus in particular, are represented with exceedingly luxuriant growth of hair and beard, none has wildly flying locks like those of the Marwa gentleman. Such exaggerated uncouthness is not represented on the statues and paintings of the men of antiquity in Roman times. One is driven, therefore, to seek other explanations.

For the falling curls of the female figures oriental influence might be a possible explanation. Little is known about the costume and *coiffure* of Syrian and Palestinian women. Talmudic sources indicate that Jewish women dressed their hair apparently with as great elaboration as Greek and Roman women. A bride went to her marriage with flowing hair, but married women of virtue hardly appeared so even before their husbands. In the absence of graphic representations it is impossible to be certain as to details. But from the words used it is argued, apparently with right, that the usual custom was to braid the hair and wind it about the head.² Krauss's arguments to prove

¹ See a series of busts in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, *Billedtavler*, Pls. LXIII f., especially Nos. 753, 755, and also the portraits on coins.

² S. Krauss, *Talmud. Archäol.*, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 194-8.

that Jewish women covered their heads, not with a veil but with the braided hair, are not logically put, but that does not destroy the value of the Talmudic evidence that points to the universal custom among Jewish women of doing up the hair, just as Greek and Roman women did.

Is it possible that gentile women in the Orient followed a different custom?¹ This is suggested by a fashion which one finds at Palmyra, the only oriental, Aramaic-speaking country from which we have numerous graphic representations of women. Many Palmyrene funerary busts show the woman with her head and hair fully covered by a veil, but with a single unbraided tress curling down from behind the ears over each shoulder just at the edge of the veil, much as in the *coiffures* of Claudian and Severan ladies.²

The possibility that women in Syria and the Decapolis may at some time have worn their hair somewhat as some Palmyrene women at one time did, with a falling tress over each shoulder, cannot be categorically denied. That Palmyrene influence is to be seen therein is not to be assumed, as the argument above indicates.³ If such were the fashion it would have been merely a common oriental fashion. But not only is no connexion with Palmyra to be assumed; it is to be noted also that the Marwa pictures show heavy double strands of hair falling over the ears upon the shoulders, while the Palmyrene busts can intend to represent only a single thin tress as falling thus. The two fashions are quite different. Moreover, Palmyrene fashion in men's beards is quite at variance with the custom which Hadrian introduced.⁴ Even among the small number of bearded men all are closely trimmed. The Palmyrene busts, then, appear to offer no information regarding customs in Palestine, and no parallels to the fashions shown in the Marwa tomb. The conclusion, therefore, seems inevitable that the wild locks of the male figure and the long flowing tresses of the female heads do not represent current fashion, and that ordinary human beings are not here portrayed. Within the framework of Graeco-Roman artistic convention three possibilities remain. The two seated

¹ Num. R. 9. 16, Krauss, *op. cit.*, p. 650, n. 867, which, as we have seen, is not true as a general rule.

² See, as examples, the reproduction of a bust at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem in the *JPOS*, Vol. X (1930), pp. 16 f., Pl. II, one from Ny Carlsberg, in *Syria*, Vol. XI (1930), p. 242, Pl. XL, and numerous others in H. Ingholt, *Studier over palmyrensk Skulptur*, Copenhagen, 1928, and in J. B. Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre*, Paris, 1922, Pls. XXVIII ff. Many, to be sure, exhibit other *coiffures*, and a few are shown without the veil on the back of the head. The falling tresses seem to end about A.D. 200. Dr. Ingholt orally confirmed my conclusion in 1936.

³ See p. 11 above.

⁴ In Chabot, *Choix*, Pls. XXVII f., XXX f., out of forty-six clear cases thirty-six are smooth shaven. Dura pictures of three men sacrificing to Palmyrene deities show a halo of uncombed hair, but the beards are short and thin; Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, *Atlas*, Pls. XLIV-XLVII.

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figures may be priest and priestess of some cult portrayed with the attributes of the deities they worshipped, they may be deities or mythical personages, or they may be portraits of human beings represented as deities. The last of the three possibilities seems to be indicated by the available data.

The Marwa fresco is less like the ancient funerary stelae which portray the deceased with his family or husband and wife together than like the allegorical figures and groups on sarcophagi. That the two chief figures are portraits cannot be proved because the faces are completely destroyed. The fact that the clothing is lacking in any unusual features and that the couch on which they sit is entirely unlike any divine—or human—throne might be taken as indicating that they were taken from real life. But the *coiffures*, the Cerberus, the strange little crowns upon the two heads, and also the basket of fruit surround the composition with an atmosphere of myth, for such attributes would not belong to royalty itself, even if such were known to have been buried in Trans-Jordan in Roman times. That the two chief figures are not deities is indicated by their thoroughly mundane garb and posture. That they are not priest and priestess is indicated likewise by their seated and familiar posture, and by the want of the typical attitudes and attributes of priesthood. What then was the artist's intention? The mythical attributes answer the question.

VII. *Cerberus* (Pl. V, 1)

The Cerberus of the Marwa tomb is as unusual as are other features of the painting. The dog of Hades is most frequently represented in connexion with Herakles' exploits in the lower world. The legend, as commonly told, demands a snake as part of the animal, usually its tail, and both in poetry and art one, two, or three, or even fifty heads are found. But Hesiod's 'fifty-headed hound of Hades'¹ could find no warm reception in art. On black-figured vases two heads are most often represented, but occasionally one.² The Ionian idea of a three-headed Cerberus was propagated by tragedy and epic. Often the three heads are the same, those of sharp-nosed hounds, as in the Marisa tomb. One black-figured vase puts a snake's head beside two dogs' heads.³ In representations of Herakles' capture of the monster three heads, all of the same variety, a slender, sharp-nosed hound, seem to be the usual tradition, and always the animal is standing and straining at the leash with which the hero holds him, 'relentless and strong' (ἀναιδέα τε κρατερόν τε), as Hesiod describes him.⁴

¹ *Theogony*, 311–12. The difficulty of portraying three heads is seen in Pl. V, 1.

² Cf. Walters, *Journal Hellen. Stud.*, Vol. XVIII (1898), p. 296 f. for further details.

³ Walters, *op. cit.*, p. 297, No. 31.

⁴ *Theogony*, 312.

In representations of Hades as king of the underworld, on the contrary, one of his attributes is often a seated dog of a heavy bulldog variety. In such representations the serpents tend to disappear, but often twine round the body. The central head is usually of normal size and the two others merely protrude from the shoulders. They tend almost to disappear in some examples.¹

Unfortunately the central head in the Marwa Cerberus is not clear as to details. It seems closely to resemble a Cerberus at the British Museum where the central head is that of a satyr,² but it may be a lion-like head, thus following an Alexandrian idea, which gave the animal the heads of a wolf, a lion, and a dog.³ The serpent has disappeared from about the animal's body and, if it is found at all, it is to be seen in the very peculiar tail. As the figures of the man and woman are given a posture and clothing of everyday life, so also the Cerberus becomes a fairly well-drawn dog, with only minor features to indicate his underworld character.

VIII. *The Kalathos*

The *modius* or *kalathos* appears in the picture in two forms, as crowns on the heads of the two principal figures and standing by itself at one side. The forms on the heads are very much flattened. They must have been added as afterthoughts. Unusual forms are often found and these need cause no question by their departure from ordinary standards.⁴ The typical *kalathos* is to be seen in a bas-relief of the gallery at Florence, where it appears as a basket full of grapes. This shape, curving inward from the bottom and sharply outward again, might easily give rise to the obscure and carelessly depicted form which appears on the heads of the two figures. Possibly a deformed *polos* is its origin.

The poorly woven basket, which appears in the picture to balance the Cerberus, seems to contain a fruit of the colour of apricots or of *mishmish*. It might be red grapes. It might even be a basket of flowers, such as appears in many reliefs of the rape of Persephone. Possibly they are poppies. The basket does not have the typical incurving *kalathos* shape, but straight, very slightly spreading sides. Aside from the curvature, however, it reproduces the appearance of the basket of the Eleusinian mysteries carried on a quadriga on a large bronze of Trajan.

¹ Reinach, *Rép. de la statuaire*, Vol. II, p. 19, No. 3; Vol. III, p. 8, Nos. 3, 7.

² Reinach, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 699, No. 3; cf. also Vol. IV, p. 445, No. 1.

³ A. Michaelis, *Journal Hellen. Stud.*, Vol. VI (1885), p. 292.

⁴ See the various forms in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.*, Vol. I, pp. 812 ff., article, 'Calathus', by E. Saglio, and note the peculiar forms, *s.v.* 'Brattea', p. 748, Fig. 877, and p. 814, Fig. 1005.

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The *kalathos* and the *polos*, which are difficult to distinguish, appear on the heads of various divinities, such as Artemis of Ephesus, Hecate, and Demeter. Among male deities the attribute appears most often, if not exclusively, on the head of Serapis. Since, by the process of syncretism, Serapis came to be regarded as identical with Pluto,¹ the *kalathos* and Cerberus appear together. Since, by the same process, Isis came to assume the characteristics of many Greek goddesses, it is possible that the designer of the Marwa painting had Persephone, Hecate, and Isis in mind, either consciously or subconsciously, in his female figure. The *kalathoi* on the heads of the two principal figures are the strongest if not the only evidence of Egyptian influence in the picture, and even this evidence is far from conclusive. One can only say positively that the *kalathos* thus used was oriental.

IX. Identification of the Figures

There can be no doubt, then, that the *kalathos* or *modius*, basket of the mysteries and symbol of abundance, placed upon the head of the man, combined with the Cerberus on his right hand, identifies him at once with the underworld and presumably with Hades, or Pluto. In the inscription the name Pluto (Πλούτων . . .) finally sets all doubt at rest. Moreover, Hades is frequently shown seated with a long staff in one hand while the other reaches toward the central head of a Cerberus having the heads of a wolf, a lion, and a dog, just as this one is represented.² The desire to place the male beside the female figure results in putting the staff in the right hand and in removing Cerberus to a slight distance. The short staff, apparently placed on the knee and ending in a knob, is another feature in which the artist did not follow usual tradition, for the staff of Hades-Pluto should end in a bird or a lance-point and should run to the ground.³ But the resemblance of the Marwa Pluto to this common type is unmistakable. The uncouth hair and beard may be borrowed from the original of the picture, but more probably represent the artist's attempt to depict the terrible ruler of the underworld. Possibly, again, there is a borrowing from the conventional Serapis who is rich in locks. When a human being is represented as a god he may undergo no small trans-

¹ Plutarch, *de Iside*, 27; cf. article, 'Sarapis', by Roeder in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* IA, col. 2420.

² See a statue from Pozzuoli now at Naples, Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.*, s.v. 'Serapis', Vol. IV, p. 1250, Fig. 6367; Clarac, *Mus. de sculpt.*, Pl. 757, No. 1851; Reinach, *Rép. de la statuaire*, Vol. II, pp. 18 f. (*passim*), Vol. III, p. 226, No. 5 (Vatican), p. 227, No. 8 (Vatican); see also above, p. 18, n. 3.

³ Reinach, *Rép. des vases peints grecs et étrusques*, Paris, 1899-1900, Vol. I, pp. 108, 156(1), 258. Perhaps the artist has merely failed to show the lower end, or thought of it as hidden behind the right foot.

formation, as when the smooth-faced Antiochus Epiphanes is given the hair and beard of Zeus.¹

If the man is Hades, the lady must be Kore or Persephone. The attributes she carries, the *modius* and the sceptre or torch, are commonly given to Persephone.² The beautiful Samaria Kore carries the large torch, wears a *modius*-like head-dress, and has long tresses falling down to her breast.³ In some representations Kore carries a torch with a small globular head exactly like that shown in the left hand of the lady in the tomb.⁴

The problem of identification also involves the question of Egyptian influence. Since Pluto and Serapis, Isis and Kore were frequently identified, it is easy to suppose that this syncretism appears in Trans-Jordan. Nothing in the pictures seems definitely to confirm this conjecture except possibly the deformed *modii*. Serapis is frequently represented with wildly luxuriant hair, but so also is Hadad.⁵ In truly Egyptian figures Isis is usually shown with tightly curled spiral locks coming from behind the ears. The *coiffures* in the Marwa figures are Greek rather than Egyptian. Egyptian influence does not appear strongly at Gerasa,⁶ Samaria, nor, I believe, at Khirbet et-Tannūr.⁷ In any case the figures are predominantly Greek. As at Gerasa, indigenous and Egyptian elements have been fully Hellenized.

X. *The Seated Pair*

Examples of Hades and Persephone seated together are rare, but perhaps not fewer than might be expected in view of the rarity of representations of the underworld and its rulers. A seated Hades and standing spouse on the well-known Canosa vase (fourth century B.C.) may serve as an example of several other representations.⁸ A Pluto, reclining on a couch on the side of which sits

¹ *Cambridge Anc. Hist.*, Plates, Vol. III, p. 12, h.

² Cf. Articles, 'Ceres', by F. Lenormant, Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.*, Vol. I, p. 1050, Fig. 1298, and 'Proserpina', by Émile Cahen, *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 698 f., Figs. 5819, 5820; p. 701, Fig. 5825. Lenormant and Cahen differ as to the terra-cotta figurine of a goddess with torch in the Louvre; cf. *Dict.*, Vol. I, Fig. 1321, ascribed to Demeter, and Vol. IV, Fig. 5821, ascribed to Kore. See numerous representations of Isis, Reinach, *Rép. de la statuaire*, Vol. II, p. 422; Vol. III, p. 259 f.; Vol. IV, pp. 253 ff.

³ *QSt.*, 1933, Pl. II, after p. 72.

⁴ Roscher, *Lexikon*, article, 'Kora'. On the monument of the Hatterii in the Lateran Museum Ceres holds such a torch, while Kore holds a basket of flowers; *op. cit.*, Vol. II, col. 1371, Fig. 18. Cf. Leo Bloch, *ibid.*, col. 1372.

⁵ See the Khirbet et-Tannūr head, *BASOR*, 65, p. 18.

⁶ Only one Isis inscription, *AASOR*, Vol. XIII (1933), pp. 161 ff.

⁷ See above, p. 8, n. 1.

⁸ Munich, No. 849; O. Jahn, *Münch. Vasensammlung*, p. 273; S. Reinach, *Rép. des vases peints*, Vol. I, p. 258; article, 'Inferi', by F. Durrbach in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.*, Vol. III, 1, p. 510, Fig. 4052; cf. Reinach, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 355.

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Persephone, appears as a god of abundance in a scene depicting a banquet of the gods.¹ A Spartan relief shows Kore sitting at Hades' right.² There is therefore sufficient artistic tradition to justify the Marwa painter in thus representing the two deities.

Another unusual feature of the painting is to be seen in the relative positions of the man and the woman. Almost universally, where a man and a woman are seated together, the man is on the woman's left. So on the *gemma Augustea*, which shows Tiberius seated with Roma in celebration of the Pannonian victory. So also in funerary banquet scenes, where the man must lean on his left elbow holding a *patera* while he lifts a horn in his right hand, the woman sits at the foot or toward the foot of the couch. But the reverse position is not unknown.

An Etruscan fresco, where Pluto sits at Kore's right on a carved bench, is an example of the Marwa grouping.³ A very interesting parallel to the Marwa couple is to be found on the side of a sarcophagus cover in the Capitoline Museum in Rome.⁴ At the centre, under a moulding which forms the third of a circle, Pluto and Persephone are seated, slightly separated, on a high-backed throne without arm-rests. She is on his left, at his right is a three-headed Cerberus of the hound type, and just beyond a large round altar with low flames. At Persephone's left an Eros approaches with a gift, and just beyond burns a high slender altar with a three-sided base. Both deities hold in the left hand sceptres which rest, the one on Pluto's knee, the other on the seat beside Persephone. Both extend their right hands, apparently to welcome a veiled woman (probably the deceased) who approaches from their right in an ogival niche, while Hermes Psychopompos comes toward them on their left in a similar niche. Pluto wears no *chiton*. Both deities wear *himatia*, disposed much as is that of the man in the Marwa picture. That of Persephone covers the back of her head, her shoulders, and her limbs, but not her body. The left arm has almost exactly the pose of the Marwa woman's left arm. The *chiton* has sleeves down to the elbow. Its folds on the breast are the same as in the Marwa picture.

At the left end of the lid (as the observer sees it) is a broad-gabled niche in which stand the three Fates with their proper attributes, and with a kneeling figure on each side praying that the thread of life be not broken. Under the

¹ Daremberg-Saglio, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, 1, p. 516, Fig. 5715, article, 'Pluto', O. Navarre, from *Mon. Ined.*, Vol. V, Pl. 49.

² Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.*, Vol. IV, p. 697, Fig. 5817.

³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, 1, *s.v.* 'Proserpina', p. 702, Fig. 5828, from Orvieto, tomba Golini.

⁴ Reinach, *Rép. des reliefs*, Vol. III, p. 187, 1; Pierre Gusman, *L'art décoratif de Rome de la fin de la république au IV^e siècle*, Paris, 1908-14, Vol. II, Pl. 107; Armellini, Pl. 153.

similar gable at the observer's right a man and woman sit close together in the centre of a couch or settee, which could hold two persons. The couch has turned legs, a cushioned seat, and a low outward-flaring back which curves around continuously to form arms. A pillow partially fills the end at the woman's left, all very 'modern'. Neither figure has any of the attributes of the deities unless the dog, which sits and looks at them from the right, might be thought to imitate Cerberus. The woman is at the man's left and puts her right arm about his shoulder just as in the Marwa picture. Her left hand rests on the couch beside her, as does his. His right reaches over to caress her right arm, so that he turns toward her. They are dressed like the divine pair at the centre. The *himatia* are arranged in almost exactly the same fashion as Pluto's, even down to the folds radiating from the left knee. Thus the woman's head is bare, but while the man's *himation* covers his otherwise naked shoulders, hers seems to have fallen behind on the back of the couch. Her *chiton* has sleeves to the elbow.

The date of the cover may not be the same as that of the sarcophagus on which it is placed (period of M. Aurelius), if Reinach is right in denying that the two belong together. The hair of the wife seems much like one of the styles of Julia Titi,¹ if I see it properly in Gusman's reproduction. However, the exact date is not important since there can be no suspicion of borrowing on either side, but only of the emergence of similar ideas.² It at least proves that placing the woman on the man's left was not merely a provincial *gaucherie*.

XI. *The Interpretation of the Group*

In addition to what has been said as to the identification of the figures still other elements enter into the interpretation of the picture. The artist had the example of numerous tomb stelae and sarcophagi, where husband and wife stand together or their busts appear side by side, as well as the common practice of everyday life to justify his groupings. It is doubtless in a combination of mythological *motifs* and actual human experience that the explanation is to be sought of the peculiar combination of human, individualized characteristics with others, set on the periphery, so to speak, which do not belong to human beings in ordinary life. In the Marwa group, the two groups of the Capitoline sarcophagus cover, the Pluto and Persephone and the man and wife, coalesce. Here the Greek funerary stela, the mythological and allegorical *motifs* of the Hellenistic-Roman sarcophagus, and the realism of the Egyptian tomb reliefs are combined. On the assumption that the heads of a

¹ Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, Vol. II (1930), Pl. 47.17.

² On this see below, p. 26.

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rich house, who intended to build a family tomb, had themselves portrayed as they actually looked in real life, but with certain allegorical touches intended to turn the tomb into a miniature Hades, with the father and mother represented as the presiding deities in this replica of the underworld, the puzzling features of the picture are intelligible.¹

This assumption easily explains the *coiffures* on all five figures. Any number of examples of goddesses and muses with hair hanging in curls or tresses to the shoulders or breast may be discovered. Occasionally human beings are so represented in Hellenistic and Roman art as they were in the fifth century B.C., but usually only when they were deified or, in servile fashion, used as models for gods and goddesses. Evidently the conservatism which religion so often exhibits led artists to depict their divinities with the primitive hairdressing of the period when art began to portray deity, even though they often altered ancient fashions in some regards to suit modern taste. It is interesting to note how the hairdressing, even of goddesses, gradually conforms to changes of custom.

The Marwa artist, following the archaizing tendencies of his time, gives his female heads the ancient primitive *coiffure* of the early Greek vases except that he cannot forbear to show his knowledge of contemporary style in waving the hair over their foreheads. That item, therefore, need not be divested of all chronological significance. It points to the end of the Antonine or beginning of the Severan period.

The *kalathos* or *modius* doubtless appears as a symbol of life and fertility. Demeter and Persephone were originally goddesses of fertility and the basket used in the Eleusinian mysteries came to have a double reference, because of the double value of the goddesses. In a family tomb the *kalathos* would symbolize both the fertility and perpetuation of the family, and the immortality of the members who had passed on to the realm of Hades. If the basket beside Persephone contains poppies they serve as a symbolical reaffirmation of the same ideas.

Another allegorical touch may be seen in the sprigs of leaves which fill in the vacant spaces in the background of the picture. Branches of laurel are frequently painted on Etruscan tombs. The leaves on the Marwa tomb may well be intended to represent the laurel of victory.²

¹ Some to whom I have showed pictures of the painting—Mr. M. Avi-Yonah of the Department of Antiquities, and Père Vincent, for example—immediately suggested that the chief figures were Hades and Persephone.

² See, for example, the back wall of the Tomba dei Leopardi, Weege, *Jb. d. deutsch. archäol. Inst.*, 31, 1916, Pl. IX; F. Poulsen, *Etruscan Tomb Paintings*, Oxford, 1922, Fig. 24; Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, Figs. 390-418.

XII. *The Painter's Technique and Artistry*

The painter apparently used the fresco process on a hard, smooth plaster surface. His colours—a matt black, a dull slaty blue, red, dark and light brown, and a pinkish buff or flesh colour—are soft, agreeable, finely blended, and well suited to the various subjects. His most competent if not most gorgeous piece is the gruesome Cerberus in black and slate colour, which is remarkably successful in suggesting the fearsome and repulsive. It stands in singular contrast to its complementary piece, the fruit basket with its bright and attractive colours.

His method is more that of the draftsman than the painter. His brush is used like a pencil. Chiaroscuro, in any true sense, is not used. Shading is suggested, but not actually shown. His effects are secured by line-drawing on a colour wash. Certain conventions appear. A broad, heavy line outlines all of the figures and the separate parts of the figures which are to be especially distinguished. Similar broad lines show the heavy folds of the garments. Equally broad, but lighter and less clearly defined lines indicate lesser folds and shadows. They are used so skilfully that the human figures are very successfully depicted in spite of the comparative crudeness of the method. The modelling of the woman's limbs, for example, is excellent. The figures are anything but outlines on a flat surface. They are living persons who sit in very real space, in spite of the purely conventional rendering of the lights and shadows in the picture. The method is far from delicate, but it was speedy and, for the dim light of an underground tomb, it was much more effective than delicate shading could have been. Since the artist's sense of form and knowledge of anatomy were good, his rough, short-cut methods achieved very excellent results. The Marwa painting is not a great masterpiece, but it is far from being a mere crude daub. From the point of view of accuracy and realism it is superior to the Marisa paintings.

From what direction could such a technique have been brought to Palestine? The question is difficult to answer in the absence of close parallels in other parts of the ancient world. Was there a local school of painters in southern Syria as there seems to have been at Dura and Palmyra?¹ That painted decorations were common throughout the entire region about the eastern Mediterranean is evident from the numerous examples which have been found.² When one considers the fragile character of such art, the preserved

¹ Ingholt, 'Quelques fresques récemment découvertes à Palmyre', *Acta Archaeologica*, Vol. III (1932), p. 18.

² Cf. the long list in Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, pp. 165-8; cf. also P. Marconi, *La pittura*

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examples argue that vast numbers once existed.¹ Sidon had its painted funerary stelae in the second century B.C., its painted tombs in the second century A.D. and even in Christian times. A Sidonian colony brought the idea of the painted tomb to Marisa, and one finds it continued down to the Christian period.² Excellent examples of real painting were long ago discovered in a Jerusalem tomb of Roman times.³ Very recently a tomb with paintings of a still different character has come to light at Ḥajar 'Id near Ascalon.⁴

The combination of line-drawing with painting which the Marwa tomb exhibits is such a natural simplification of the painter's technique that one need not search the Mediterranean world for parallels to explain its appearance in the Ḥaurān. Much the same combination of line and colour appears in many ancient paintings, sometimes connected with the use of chiaroscuro, sometimes approximating it. It is to be seen in Etruscan tombs of the third and fourth centuries B.C., in the Marisa animal pictures in somewhat less emphatic fashion, in Phoenician tomb stelae, in the sacrificial scene of the Bithnanaia frescoes and the synagogue and church walls at Dura-Europos, in the Palmyrene frescoes recently published by Ingholt, in the 'Church of the First Invention of the Head of St. John the Baptist' at Sebastye, and in innumerable Byzantine monuments. It appears on white-ground vases, in mosaics, and in manuscript miniatures.⁵ It appears in a very crude form in a tomb at 'Abda.⁶

dei Romani, Rome, 1929, p. 24 and notes I-II, and Rostovtzeff in *Journal Hellen. Stud.*, Vol. XXXIX (1919), pp. 153-9.

¹ See the remarks of Butler, *Am. Arch. Exped. to Syria*, Vol. II, *Architecture*, p. 293 f. on the extensive evidence for painting in Syria.

² W. J. Moulton, 'A Painted Christian Tomb at Beit Jibrin', *AASOR*, Vols. II and III (1921-2), pp. 95-102 and Pls. 1-4. Sheikh 'Ibreiq had a much cruder painted tomb, probably Jewish, *Survey Western Palestine*, Vol. I, p. 350 f., which I saw in 1921. The earthquake of 1927 is reported to have destroyed it. C. Schick, *QSt.*, 1887, pp. 51-5, described a Christian tomb with a slightly more artistic painting.

³ Described by A. C. Dickie in Bliss and Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894-1897*, London, 1898, pp. 243-9, with two colour plates, pp. 246, 248.

⁴ *QDAP*, Vol. VII, p. 60; Ory, 'A Painted Tomb near Ascalon', *QDAP*, Vol. VIII, pp. 38-44.

⁵ Cf. Swindler, *Anc. Painting*, Figs. 425, 427, 557 f., 606 ff., 626, 631 f.; Marconi, *Pittura dei Romani* (some of the earliest and latest shown); Ingholt, *op. cit.* (p. 24, n. 1); Peters and Thiersch, *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa*, London, 1905; Cumont, *Fouilles de Dura-Europos, Atlas*, Pls. XXXI-LX; cf. the Sassanian frescoes, *Excav. at Dura-Europos, Fourth Season*, Pl. XVIII, 'The Woman at the Well,' *Fifth Season*, Pls. XLVI-LI; the synagogue (now at Damascus), *Sixth Season*, Pls. XLVI-LIII; St. John's at Sebastye in *QSt.*, 1932, Pl. VII, p. 33, and R. W. Hamilton, *Guide to the Historical Site of Sebastieh*, Jerusalem, 1936, Fig. 15; H. R. Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar*, Vol. II, *The Cycle of Text Illustrations*, Chicago, 1936.

⁶ *RB*, 1905, p. 81 f., Pl. VI f.

It appears, much refined, at Quseir 'Amra and at Jel el 'Amad,¹ the one at the beginning of the eighth century, the other the beginning of the second. In view of the proximity of Marwa to Phoenicia one can well understand how a family or group of families might adopt the custom of a neighbouring region, and perhaps independently adapt it to a more rapid method.

In view of the numerous examples of this technique in widely separated parts of the world it is unnecessary to insist on borrowing from any specific quarter. Quite evidently it occurred to various artists that certain effects could be produced in this fashion. Certain ideas and practices arise spontaneously because they are simple, almost inevitable. The Marwa artist did not need to learn from the Etruscans. The deftness and confidence of his technique proves that he was not merely experimenting but using a long-tried method. That he derives eventually from Greek predecessors is almost certain. It may well be that further discoveries in the Haurān, Coelo-Syria, or Phoenicia will exhibit the line of descent more clearly and discover a centre where such art was taught; if so, probably in Syria. At present one can only say that he represents the Hellenistic-Roman tendency to use vigorous short-cut methods to achieve striking effects.

In view of the widespread use of his technique, widespread in time as well as space, it seems impossible to range him on the ground of technique into any definite chronological series. That he belongs to the post-classical period is clear, but with similar methods in vogue in much earlier times, with better, that is more delicate techniques in use in times contemporary with him or later, his technique offers no certain ground for giving him a definite date. However, he is not a 'forerunner of Byzantine painting' in the sense that he represents its stiffness and anatomical inaccuracy. In this he is superior even to the best Palmyrene and Duran paintings.² How successful the Marwa artist would have been in depicting scenes like those of Dura it is impossible to know. The 'frontality' which marks and distorts the Dura scenes appears also in the Marwa paintings, but the Marwan artist has chosen themes which demand a full-face view. His representation of the limbs of the sitting figures indicates that he was a master of the problems of perspective, while even a first-century Dura artist, the painter of the Bithnanaia fresco, was not. In other words, judged by his art, the Marwa painter cannot be placed too late. He belongs still in the period before oriental influences had given rise to the Byzantine style.

¹ Cf. Alois Musil, *Kusejr 'Amra*, Wien, 1907, and Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéol. en Arabie*, Vol. III, *Atlas*, Pls. XXXIX-LV, and Denyse le Lasseur in *Syria*, Vol. III (1922), pp. 15-18, Pl. II f.

² See J. H. Breasted, *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting*, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1924 (*OIP*, Vol. I), pp. 79, 99 f.

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XIII. *The Inscription* (Pl. V, 2-3)

Next to the defacing of the two chief figures, historically regarded even before it, the hacking out of the inscription in the Marwa tomb was a most serious calamity. The inscription was painted in black letters on a plastered surface, 32 by 56 cm. in dimensions, within a *tabula ansata* which measured 29 cm. in height, 35 cm. across at the top, and 37 cm. at the bottom, and which stood about 1.60 m. above the floor (*b* in Section X-Y in Fig. 1, p. 4). With the tails the width was 53 cm. The inscribed surface within the black border which formed the *tabula ansata* measured 21-22 by 28-29 cm. The letters varied in height from 3.5 or 4 cm. in line 2 to 2 cm. in line 6. They were painted with a brush in swift firm strokes and were usually provided with rude serifs, but were most irregular in width and spacing. Clearly the inscription was written without preparatory blocking out, yet apparently the concluding letters were centred and a decorative sprig of olive or laurel used to fill in the vacant space on each side.

What now remains can be seen in Pl. V, 2. The intelligent *mukhtār* of the village copied two lines before they were destroyed. What he saw apparently ran somewhat as follows: ΤΕΚΝΟΒΑΤΑ . . ΕΚΤΕΙ / ΡΑΔΟΙΩΝ ΠΩΙΨΤΙΙΙ. He recorded in Arabic the fact that after ΒΑΤΑ a space was 'broken' (*maksūr*), and that three lines followed.¹ Although the *mukhtār* did remarkably well for one who probably knew no Greek and certainly no English, and who was working in cramped quarters presumably by the light of a candle, he made mistakes in letters which are still visible. Mistakes are, therefore, probable in the portions which have disappeared. There can be no doubt as to the letters ΠΛΟΥΤΩ at the end of line 3. It seems obvious that the preceding word was ΔΟΜΩΝ. Other obvious emendations and certain unsupported and therefore doubtful conjectures give the following:

. Λ . Ρ . Μ . .
 (τέκνω κατα)[π]λέκτει-
 (ρα δόμων) Πλούτω-
 νος] ἄνα[κτος θ]αλά[μου
 κό[ρη] . . ΝΑΜ . . ΟΝΙΥΛΗ νυ-
 ὅς ἐτέρη.²

The enigmatic combination ΤΕΚΝΟΒΑΤΑ is rather short for the space, and the imperfectly written *beta* should probably be read as a *kappa*. No satisfactory compound of τέκνον with βᾶτος in any of its senses occurs to me. If κατά goes

¹ Prof. W. Popper of the University of California assisted me in deciphering the Arabic notations.

² Portions included in parentheses are known only from the *mukhtār*'s copy. Letters in square brackets are supplied. Dotted letters are doubtful. See the photograph and drawing on Pl. V, 2-3.

with the following letters τεκνο must be read as τέκνον, or τέκνου, or τέκνω. Such a word as καταδεκτήρ is possible as an epithet of Pluto, in the sense of 'receiver of souls'. The simple form δεκτήρ is found in a first- or second-century inscription from Mantinea of an official 'receiver'. What the office was is not clear. Was the maker of the tomb such an official in the ancient district of Capitolias and then given a similar appointment in the other world?

Unfortunately for this conjecture there is room for a letter before the hypothetical *delta*, and καταπλέκτηρ, which seems a perfectly good compound, fills the space better. It may be defended as having the double meaning, when used with βίος or ζωή expressed or understood, of 'weaving life' in the sense of either continuing or completing it. Whether to read the word as a feminine or as a masculine accusative with itacistic spelling must remain uncertain. One would expect a neuter plural noun after κατά, one upon which the genitive λόμων could depend, but I can discover nothing fitting within the limits set by the preserved letters.

The lower left-hand corner is too badly hacked away to allow any certainty as to its reading. On the supposition that the last line was centred, with a sprig of laurel on the left as on the right, the final words are νυὸς ἑτέρη 'another daughter-in-law', or 'bride', presumably of Hades. The *eta* ending of ἑτέρη points to the use of archaic or poetic language in the inscription.

With so little preserved, the possible guesses as to the meaning of the inscription are almost endless and the chances of error are likewise limitless. The most probable conjecture is that it spoke of both husband and wife as living in the dwellings of Pluto, or of the wife as 'another bride' of Hades. For the latter idea there are numerous ancient parallels.¹ It is possible that the inscription refers to some child, and τέκνον as a vocative should be read.

No date now appears in the inscription, even if one was originally put there, and the meagre remains are not sufficient to allow certain inference to be made from the palaeography. There is also the problem as to how far the cursive style has influenced such a painted inscription. The stone-cutter was restrained by his medium from making rapid changes, but he gradually succumbed to the prevailing influences of the forms in common use in writing. How much more would the painter follow the style of the manuscript!

If the Marwa painter be supposed to be imitating lapidary style he might be dated in the fourth or fifth century. If he be using the uncials of book style he may easily be pushed back into the third or possibly second century. Further than this it seems impossible to go, for his lettering is not entirely consistent and regular and certain characters, the *mu*, for example, are missing.

¹ See, e.g., the *Greek Anthology*, 7. 188, 483, 547.

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XIV. *Tomb Deposits*

The ceramic finds were of no value. In the debris which filled the entrance and spread down into the tomb were only roughly ribbed Byzantine fragments, some of them from blackened cooking-pots, indicating that the tomb may have served for human habitation. No late Byzantine or Arabic pieces were found, showing that the entrance had been filled up in Byzantine times. The entire tomb with all its loculi had been cleared out so that few bones and nothing in the way of funeral deposits were found except pieces of two ordinary glass 'tear bottles' and of two small round undecorated lamps, which could come from the second or third century. It seems strange that in a tomb which had been so completely swept and garnished the striking paintings had suffered no damage.

XV. *Conclusions*

No single piece of evidence allows the certain dating of the Marwa painting, but all taken together, the costumes, the hairdressing, the subjects chosen, the painter's technique, the palaeography of the inscription, and the meagre fragments of pottery point to the third or possibly the last quarter of the second century as the probable date. Unfortunately the third century is a period of which not too much is known, but it was a time when the Orient played a most important part in Roman politics, and when parts of Palestine and Syria prospered because of imperial interest. In the time when Oriental princesses were in the palace of the Caesars, even though the empire was far from peace and prosperity, Syria and Palestine enjoyed some privileges and immunities, and probably during that time it was possible for such luxury to develop as the Marwa painting indicates. To be sure, prosperity may easily have come to certain families at later times, for example when Philippopolis was built—in the time of Philip the Arab—or when Gerasa showed a slight revival about the end of the third century.¹

It is significant that not the slightest sign of Christian occupation appears in the tomb. It must have become completely covered before Christians became numerous in the neighbourhood. Doubtless, during the disorders or disasters that came upon the empire after the time of Severus Alexander, the tomb was plundered. The family evidently fell into decay long before the full space available was used. Pious but poor descendants may have moved the bones to a safer resting-place, or strangers may have cleared it for a home. In any case

¹ When, according to Latin inscriptions (Nos. 190, 256), the south tetrapylon was rebuilt. See C. H. Kraeling, ed., *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1938, p. 414, nos. 105 f.

mere grave-robbers would not have removed all of the bones and of the pottery which would have accompanied the burials that had taken place. It would seem that finally the entrance was intentionally filled with debris. How otherwise can one explain the mass of earth filled with Byzantine potsherds which was found blocking the entrance, but extending back into the tomb only so far as the natural sliding of debris would carry it? If it had been washed in by rain it would have been carried out over the entire floor. But the floor in the back portion and near the side walls toward the back was entirely clear and clean. It would appear, therefore, that we owe the preservation of the paintings to some one's intentional care.

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1. The view westward from Marwa showing the tent of the excavators beside the tomb (marked by arrow).



2. The location of the tomb marked by the white rock in the centre of the picture.

MARWA



1. The entrance as it appeared before excavation.



2. The doorway in process of excavation.

MARWA



1. The loculi at the back of the tomb.



2. The loculi at the east side of the tomb with a part of the short sarcophagus showing at the extreme left.

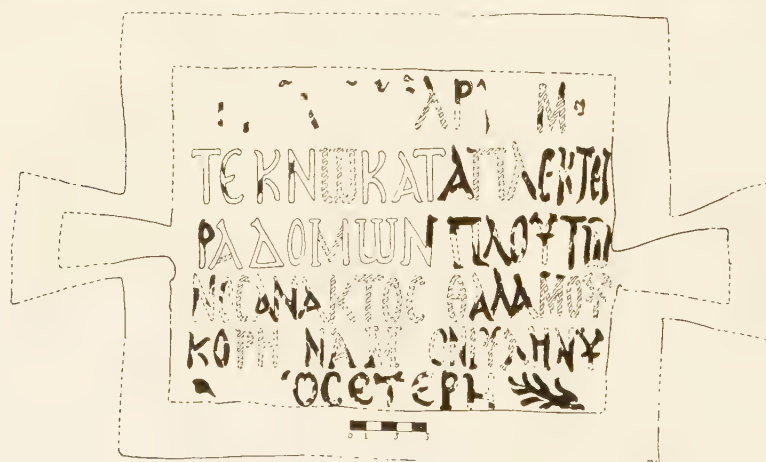
MARWA



1. The Cerberus.



2. The inscription.



3. Drawing of inscription with suggested restorations.

Solid black - letters or portions of letters now visible.

Solid outline = mukhtār's copy.

Dotted outline = certain restorations.

Hatched letters = conjectural restorations.

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

More Potters' Stamps

IN this second instalment of my proposed Index of Sigillata Potters' Stamps made or found in the Near East the majority are from the American Excavations in the Athenian Agora and at Corinth;¹ my copying of this unpublished material was once more permitted and facilitated with that readiness and generosity which is so marked a characteristic of the work of those sister expeditions. Besides these, the present contribution includes stamps from Cyprus, Knossos, and Syria, collected by myself with the kind help and permission of the authorities in each case, and a number taken from various publications for the sake of completeness; several of these works have become available in Jerusalem since I wrote my former article. Some of both these latter groups appear in Mr. Howard Comfort's extremely valuable 'Supplementary Sigillata Signatures in the Near East' (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 58, pp. 30 ff.), from which I have drawn a considerable number of names, and which I have had constantly beside me in writing this article. The bulk, however, of the present list is new; and we owe the possibility of its compilation to the care now devoted to these often insignificant fragments by such expeditions as those above mentioned. At the same time it is no more than another instalment, to which additions could be made before the printer's ink is dry. It would be greatly appreciated, and assist immensely in my design of a comprehensive Index, if all excavators and others east of the Adriatic who find sigillata potters' stamps would, from now onwards, send me either a transcription of them (if they are few), with any details of chronological or local importance, and permission to include them in a further list; or some indication of their nature and extent, and where I might be allowed to study and copy them for the same purpose. I should be particularly glad of any examples from the Black Sea region and the U.S.S.R., Iraq, India, and Iran.

The former list (*QDAP*, Vol. VI, pp. 4 [1] ff.), although clearly tentative and inadequate, has been received with so much indulgence that I have been encouraged to make available to students these further stamps now: they will at least bring some additional fish to the net. Circumstances prevailing of late in this country have so far prevented me from doing any

¹ The stamps from the current excavations in Corinth of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens are being included in the forthcoming publication of those excavations by Miss Doreen Canaday. I am greatly indebted to her for her personal kindness in showing me the material before publication, and for her willingness for me to include it here.

of the field work which I hope may lead to some knowledge of wares and fabrics: so that, as far as I am aware, there is little to add to the discussion of the various sigillata wares in the previous article. It must be reaffirmed that we have not yet enough material to justify very broad generalizations; arguments *ex absentia* are particularly treacherous, e.g. Comfort's guarded inference¹ that C. CLODIVS SABINVS did not penetrate eastward is invalidated by the finding of his name at Corinth included in the present list.

Forms are quoted where possible for Western vessels. Eastern ones must continue to be summarily indicated as 'cup' or 'dish' with occasionally some further detail; this must remain true until one of us has time to classify and number the Eastern shapes. Many of the stamps here included, both Western and Eastern, occur on very tiny fragments of the vessel; often much less than half of the base; so that it is frequently impossible to quote a form number with any certainty, did one exist. I have probably erred here in the direction of over-boldness in attribution. At the same time it should be reiterated that the ideal is to describe the shape of the vessel, its ware, and its glaze or slip, as exactly as possible, in transcribing sigillata stamps. If circumstances permit, a section drawing is desirable for Eastern, unclassified forms, as in Heberdey's publication of the Ephesus stamps, or Comfort's list of those in the American Academy in Rome. Most of the stamps on pottery quoted in the *CIL* are, as Comfort complains,² virtually useless for any serious purpose, owing to the non-citation of even the class of pottery on which the stamp occurs. From now on, any additions to the *CIL* or *IG* should include at least the form, and should say whether on sigillata or not; if possible, an indication of the class of ware and shape should be added.

As before, there are included a marginal number of stamps too uncertain for even a tentative identification. It seemed best not to omit these, since new examples are continually forthcoming, which by comparison help to identify the previously doubtful ones, as any one who has studied them will appreciate. These uncertain or illegible stamps are, in the second instalment, collected at the end, along with a group of symbol stamps; they are reproduced in a kind of partial facsimile or *diplomatiscbe Abschrift* which may serve to indicate to students the vagaries of the lettering.

The review of my earlier list by Herr Oxé³ has been particularly valuable for its criticisms and suggestions. Although the stamps ΧΑΡΙC, ΧΑΡΙΤΕC, ΔΩΠΟΝ, ΚΕΡΔΟC, ΚΑΛΑ, and ΚΑΙCΥ seem admittedly to belong to the class

¹ *JAOs*, 58, p. 32.

² *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, Vol. VII, pp. 180-1; cf. also Oswald, *Index*, p. vi.

³ *Germania*, Anzeiger, 21 (1937), pp. 136-7.

of *redende Stempel*, and are not the names of potters, I have continued to include them in their place, since they may in the future prove to have been favoured by certain groups of potters or factories, and may thus afford some token of identity. Occasionally I have indicated that two examples of the same stamp are found on demonstrably different fabrics: e.g. the fourth and fifth examples of ΧΑΡΙC, on Group ii (= the old 'Pergamene') and Group i (= the old 'Samian') wares respectively. Oxé remarks that this use of the *redende Stempel* as a greeting seems to be a peculiarity of Eastern sigillata; it is different from the mainly funereal uses of such stamps on Western sigillata, as studied by him.¹

The Earliest Sigillata.

For the date of the origin of sigillata there is no new absolute evidence yet published. Since my former discussion,² however, one of the principal supports for the existence of sigillata in the first half of the second century B.C. has vanished; it appears that the supposed sigillata from Corinth, reported as datable³ by its context prior to the city's destruction in 146 B.C., is non-existent, or at least cannot be found. We are thus reduced for the earliest dating that has any degree of reliability to a few instances, of which the most definite seem to be: (i) the sigillata from Olbia (S. Russia) associated with a cemetery of the Myrina type, which may be of the third and should be at latest of the second century B.C.; (ii) that from Delos, ante-dating the sack of that place in 87 B.C.;⁴ and (iii) that found in the cargo of the ship⁵ sunk off the island of Anticythera (Cerigotto), which from the works of art found in it may be considered—at a conservative estimate—to have sunk during the first third of the first century B.C. None of these, unfortunately, is very precise. I restate them here for the sake of clarity, and as a caution against supposing that any of the considerable number of stamps hitherto published has added, from the context in which it has been found or otherwise, any definite chronological evidence.

Gaulish Wares in the East.

It was never the writer's intention to suggest that all, or even most of the Western stamps found in the East were Gaulish, but to draw attention to the fact, not then generally known, of their existence in those parts. Since, however, some impression of that kind appears to have suggested itself from

¹ 'Redende Sigillata-Stempel', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 139 (1934), pp. 94 ff.

² *QDAP*, Vol. VI, p. 6 [3].

³ Waagé, *Antioch on the Orontes*, Vol. I. The Excavations of 1932, p. 69.

⁴ *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς*, 1902, Πίναξ Η.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1902, Pls. 7-12, Nos. 20-3.

my former article (which nevertheless contains many names there attributed to Arretium or Puteoli); and since some names in it, which are in fact Italian, were wrongly assigned to Gaul, it may be worth while to give here some of the principal undoubted occurrences of Gaulish sigillata so far reported in the East, to clear the ground. These include:

Signatures:

ACVTVS, ARDACVS, BASSINIVS, MACCARVS, REGINVS, SECVNDVS, L. TETIVS, VITALIS.

Unsigned pieces:

Form 37 from Samaria identified as Banassac ware by Mr. T. D. Pryce (*QDAP*, Vol. VI, p. 22 [19]).

A considerable group of Forms 29 and 37 at Corinth, which I observed myself amongst the large quantity of sigillata there.

Several vessels of Form 37 recognized by Mr. F. N. Pryce at Antioch (*QDAP*, Vol. VI, p. 22 [19]).

Four vessels from Egypt in Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology (Comfort, *AJA*, Vol. XLI (1937), pp. 407-9, Nos. 6-9).

Form 29 from Petra in the Palestine Archaeological Museum (No. 36.872).

Form 27 from Rās el 'Ain (Palestine), Tarsus, and Samos (*QDAP*, *loc. cit.*).

Two Form 37 bowls from Egypt in Hildesheim (Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 56, n. 76).

Form 29 from Pergamon in Berlin (Comfort, *ibid.*).

Five decorated bowls from Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes*, Vol. V, p. 180).

We may add as an almost certain product of La Graufesenque the dish of marbled sigillata with the illegible stamp (p. 43) from Corinth.

From the distribution of these pieces, Corinth, Tarsus, Antioch, Samaria, Petra, Rās el 'Ain, Egypt, it would seem that in their day the Gaulish attained as widespread a market as the Italian wares in the East. It is certain that much more will be discovered on Eastern sites in the future.

Marbled Sigillata.

This type of sigillata, having a glaze of yellow and red streaks intermingled to produce the effect of 'marbling', such as is not infrequently met with on wall frescoes of the Pompeii class, has now been recorded in the East. An account of it, with citations of examples known and potters who made it, will be found in Oswald and Pryce, *Terra sigillata*, pp. 218 sqq. Additional names of potters who made this ware are: ARTIVS (at Cologne, Waldorf-Rickarts Museum, No. 3616); MINΔIC (from Modena: Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 43 and

reff.). The ware was first made in Arretium, whence it spread to La Graufesenque and the South Gaulish factories. It flourished chiefly during the reigns of Claudius and Nero. I have noted a dish of the ware, possibly Form 15/17, amongst the sigillata at Corinth; it bears an illegible stamp and is included in my list under 'Illegible or Uncertain' stamps (Corinth, C. 34.229). At Corinth also is a cup, stamped ΔΩΡΟΝ, marbled externally (cf. list s. ΔΩΡΟΝ).

Other Associated Wares: Eastern or Western.

In the Western countries, where sigillata has been mostly found, it is often associated with several groups of sub- or non-sigillata 'native' wares, some of which show signs of its influence.¹ These include the class of barbotine wares of which Castor (or Cologne) ware is the best known; 'sand-blown' ware, covered all over with tiny grains of grit; 'terra nigra' or British-Celtic wares, often bearing stamps like those on sigillata but meaningless and consisting of strokes only; and a group of very fine wares, often of almost egg-shell thinness. In my previous article I uttered a plea against a too strict interpretation of sigillata, which cannot be properly studied or understood *in vacuo*. Every Roman archaeologist in Britain or Germany or France knows that sigillata joins hands in one direction with Greek glazed vases, and in the other with the 'native' wares above described. ACO and his group, *pace* Herr Ohlenroth,² have very much to do with sigillata, as previously explained.³ They show us how the same potter could pass over from the production of 'native' wares to that of sigillata. In fact, sigillata outside Italy is nothing but a special type of 'native' ware, as the Colchester sigillata potteries abundantly prove, with their Celtic names and degenerate style. If the aim of sigillata study is to use it as an index to the economic and social history of the times, and not merely to regard it as the appreciation of a certain class of *objets d'art*, it must be viewed in the widest sense and with an open mind. In the East, as long as sigillata was confined within the twin strait-waistcoats of 'Samian' and 'Pergamene', no progress could be made in its study; these discarded, the extent and ramifications of the subject begin to appear, with the prospect of finding potteries all over hither Asia, producing in some areas both sigillata and Nabatean. The argument previously advanced⁴ in favour of regarding Nabatean as a branch of sigillata derives additional force from comparison with 'local' wares in the West.

¹ Cf. *QDAP*, Vol. VI, p. 20 [17], and n. 3.

² 'Italische Sigillata mit Auflagen aus Rätien und dem römischen Germanien' in *Bericht der Römisch-germanischen Kommission*, 24/25 (1934/35), p. 240, n. 19.

³ *QDAP*, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17 [12-14].

At Corinth I noted much of this 'local' ware, in appearance identical with many of the British and Gaulish 'native' wares of the first to fourth centuries A.D. It includes all the types mentioned at the beginning of this section. An illustration is afforded by the imitation stamps from Corinth, included in the List under 'Illegible or Uncertain' stamps. They consist of lines and dots, often arranged in a slanting position resembling the letter V, and recall the imitation stamps which occur freely on 'terra nigra' plates and dishes in

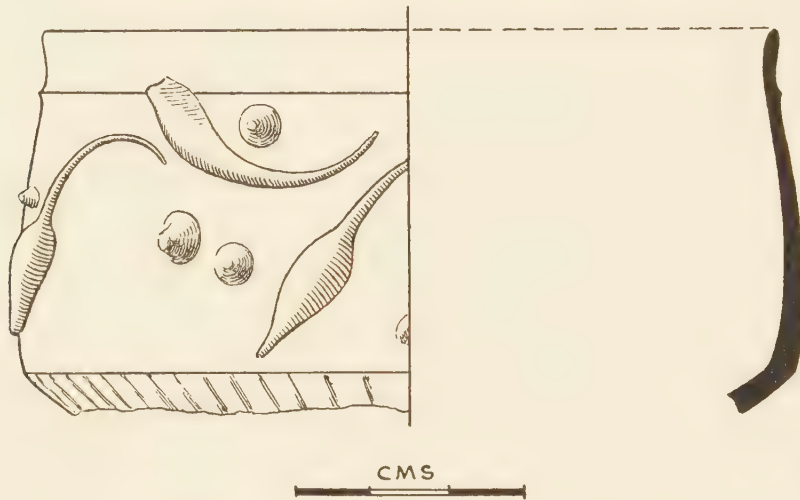


FIG. 1.

the West. The examples are to me indistinguishable from the Western ones, and until evidence to the contrary is forthcoming we must assume them to be Western imports, on the analogy of the ACO beaker from Ascalon.¹ As an example from an even more remote spot, I include here² a drawing of a fragment of a cup with barbotine decoration in the Palestine Museum from Petra. Bearing in mind both the high level of technique in pottery-making attained by the Nabateans and the fact that Gaulish sigillata was also imported at Petra, where shall we say this cup was made? At Castor, Cologne, Lezoux, or Petra?

The following works have been cited in the present article, either in full or as shown:

American Journal of Archaeology (*AJA*).

Athenische Mitteilungen (*Ath. Mitt.*).

Bonner Jahrbücher (*B. J.*).

Byblos et l'Égypte, Montet, Paris, 1928. [Cf. p. 54.]

¹ *QDAP*, Vol. VI, p. 21 [18], and Fig. 2.

² Fig. 1. P.A.M. No. 36.873.

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

Catalogue of Roman Pottery in the British Museum, by H. B. Walters (*Cat. of Rom. Pottery in B.M.*), London, 1908.

Ephesos, Heberdey = *Forschungen in Ephesos I*, Vienna, 1906.

Fouilles de Delphes.

Germania, Anzeiger (*Germania, Anz.*).

Haltern, Loeschcke = *Keramische Funde in Haltern V* (1909) [pp. 54, 66].

Index, Oswald = Oswald, Index of Potters' Stamps on Terra Sigillata, 1931.

'Italische Sigillata mit Auflagen aus Rätien und dem römischen Germanien' by Ohlenroth (24/25 *Bericht der röm.-germ. Kommission*, 1937).

Journal of the American Oriental Society (*JAOs*), Comfort.

Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome (*Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome, or Memoirs*), Comfort.

Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement (*QSt.*).

Philologische Wochenschrift (*Phil. Woch.*). [Cf. pp. 45, 66.]

Priene, by Wiegand and Schrader. [Cf. p. 75.]

Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine (*QDAP*).

Survey of Western Palestine, London, 1881-3. [Cf. p. 38.]

The Alishar Hüyük, by H. H. von der Osten. Seasons of 1930-2. Part III. Chicago. [Cf. pp. 71, 75.]

For others references, see my previous article (*QDAP*, Vol. VI, pp. 7 [4] and 25-6 [22-3]).

LIST OF STAMPS

<u>ACVTVS</u>	? Montans. Tiberius-Nero (Oswald, <i>Index</i>).
<u>LETTI</u>	Corinth, C. 36.138. Rectangular stamp; within small grooved
AQVTVS	circle. Form 17? With L. TETTVS.
<u>S.A.N.</u>	
S·A·N	Corinth, C. 29.117. In planta pedis.
<u>AGATEmerus</u>	Puteoli (Oxé, <i>Germania</i> , Anzeiger, 21 (1937), p. 137).
AGATE	Megiddo. Schumacher's Collection (P.A.M. Cat. No. 39.7).
<u>ΑΓΑΘΟΠΟΥΣ</u>	
ΑΓΛΘΟ	
ΠΟΔΟΣ	Olbia (Comfort, <i>JAOs</i> , 58, p. 38 and reff.).
<u>ΑΙΔΟΥΧΟΣ</u>	(Comfort, <i>JAOs</i> , 58, p. 38.)
ΑΙΔΟ	Mainz, Landesmuseum, O. 28669. Dish. Provenance unknown?
ΥΧΟΥ	Double spirals <i>appliquées</i> on rim. Also from Olbia, 'S. Russia',
	and in Cologne (Comfort, <i>JAOs</i> , 58, p. 38).
<u>ΑΙ ΕΗΣ</u>	
ΑΙΝΕ	Ephesus. Bowl. Rectangular stamp (Heberdey, <i>Ephesos</i> , I,
Ο .	p. 169).
<u>... AINVS (?)</u>	
... AINI	Corinth, C. 36.1697. Rectangular stamp. Rounded dish on
	triangular foot-ring. Metallic lustrous brown glaze.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ Group i (?).

ΙΛΕΞΑ

Corinth, CP. 1541. Rectangular stamp.

ΙΔΡΟΥ

ΑΛΕΞΑ

Torre Annunziata. Rectangular stamp with rounded ends (Walters, *Cat. of Rom. Pottery in B.M.*, p. 38, L. 135).

ΝΔΡΟΥ

A.Λ(AMA)Italian. Nero. Cf. Ohlenroth, *Italische Sigillata mit Auflagen aus Rätien und dem römischen Germanien*, p. 241. Worked for ATEIVS.

Α·ΛΛΑ

Corinth, C. 34.157. In pl. pedis. Ritterling, Type 5.

ΑΛΛ

Corinth, (1) C. 34.1810. In pl. pedis. Ritterling, Type 9; (2) C. 36.1472. In tabula ansata (Dragendorff, Form 24/25, with spiral *appliqué*; Ohlenroth, *loc. cit.*, Abb. 3, 8 (p. 244)).

ΑΛΛΙ

Corinth, C. 781. In pl. pedis. Dragendorff, Form 24/25.

Ρ.ΑΜC

Corinth, C. 38.6. In pl. pedis. Bowl.

CN. ΑΜΑΙΗΣ ?

ΑΙ

Sebastia Excav. 1932. P.A.M. 33.3300. Rectangular stamp.

CN

AMNus

(AMAndus ? etc.) Italian ?

ΑΜ ...

Corinth, CP. 1555. In pl. pedis.

C.AMVRIVS etc.CANRI (*sic*) Jerusalem (P. E. F. *Survey of W. Palestine*, Jerusalem, p. 538).

CMVRI Petra. In pl. pedis. Loeschcke, Type 12 (?). P.A.M. 37.294.

C·ΑΜV..... Athens, Agora : P. 6894. In pl. pedis. Form 24/25.

....ΑVRI Athens, Agora : P. 6170. In pl. pedis.

....ΑVRI Athens, Agora : P. 6991. In pl. pedis. Bowl. ? A S. Gaulish piece.

....VRI Athens, Agora : P. 6981. In pl. pedis.

CAMVϞ Corinth, C. 33.174. In pl. pedis. Ritterling Type 5.

CAΛVRI Corinth, C. 33.177. In pl. pedis.

AMVϞ Corinth, C. 34.154. In pl. pedis.

C·AMVR ? Corinth, C. 35.37. In pl. pedis. Form 24/25.

CAMVRI Corinth, C. 36.474. In pl. pedis. Form 15/17.

C·AMVRI Corinth, C. 37.1478. In pl. pedis. Form 18.

..ΑΜVϞ Athens, Agora : P. 5019. In pl. pedis. (Very doubtful.)

CAΛVRI Athens, Agora : P. 9850. In pl. pedis.

MVϞ Corinth, C. 36.1378. Elliptical (?) stamp. Large plate with tall foot-ring.

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

CAMVRI	Corinth, C. 37.2113. In pl. pedis.
....VRI	Corinth, C. 33.1237. In pl. pedis.
CAVR	Corinth, C. 36.1486. Rectangular stamp.
CAVR	Corinth, C. 34.2175. In pl. pedis.
C·MVRI	Corinth, C. 36.1481. In pl. pedis.
A·MV	Corinth, C. 36.1591. In pl. pedis.
C·AM....	Corinth, C. 37.2312. In pl. pedis.
CAVR	Corinth, C. 36.1601. In pl. pedis.
CA....VPI	Corinth, C. 36.1572. Form 18/31.
CAVPI	Corinth, C. 36.1597. Quasi-rectangular stamp. Tiny cup.
C·MVRI	Corinth, C. 37.2169. In pl. pedis. Loeschcke, Type 15.
.MVRI	Corinth, C. 28.14. In pl. pedis.
CAVRI	Corinth, C. 28.35. In pl. pedis.
.MVRI	Corinth, C. 36.1598. In pl. pedis.
C·AV·	Corinth, C. 36.1588. Rectangular stamp.
CAMI...	Corinth, C. 33.1098. In pl. pedis.
IAA...(?)	Corinth, CP. 1558. In pl. pedis.
CAMVPI	Beisān. Ancestor of Form 15. In pl. pedis. University Museum, Philadelphia, No. 29-102-545 (Comfort and Waagé, <i>QSt.</i> , 1936, p. 222, Pl. I).
CAVP	Beisān. In pl. pedis. University Museum, Philadelphia, No. 29-102-559 (Comfort and Waagé, <i>loc. cit.</i>).
CAVRI	(1) Naukratis. Bowl. Elliptical stamp. British Museum, L. 41 (Walters, <i>Cat. of Roman Pottery in B.M.</i> , p. 18); (2) Ephesus (Heberdey, <i>Ephesos</i> , I, p. 168).

. ANΔPEOΣ

ANΔPEOY Smyrna. In pl. pedis (Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 38).

ANENKΛHTOΣ

AVENK Ephesus. Rectangular stamp with rounded corners. Bow
ΛHTOY (Heberdey, *Ephesos*, I, p. 170).

C. ANNIVS

Arretine.

ΕΡΟC C·ANNI Provenance uncertain (Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 41). With EROS.

L. ANNIVS

Arretine. One of the Annii. Augustan?

PHERO
L·ANNI

Corinth, C. 36.151. Rectangular stamp. With PHILEROS.

J. H. ILIFFE

AVCTVS LANNI	Corinth, C. 29.86. Rectangular stamp. With AVCTVS.
INGEN L·ANN	Antioch (Comfort, <i>JAOs</i> , 58, p. 47). With INGEN.
<u>ANTA</u> A N T A	In Greek cross. Dura Europos 1937.
<u>ANTEROS</u> (?) ANTER RASIN	Arretine. Corinth, C. 29.118. Rectangular stamp. Form 18/31. (Cf. also Comfort, <i>JAOs</i> , 58, p. 60.) With RASINIVS.
<u>ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ</u> .ΠΟΛ .ΩΝΟC	Miletopolis (Comfort, <i>JAOs</i> , 58, p. 38).
<u>ΑΡΟΜ.</u> (?) GAZA ΑΡΟΜΙ	Italian ? Corinth, CP. 1543. Rectangular stamp. With GAZA (?)
<u>APER</u> (?) QFARP	La Graufesenque. Claudius-Vespasian. Corfu. Form 1. In pl. pedis. British Museum L. 4 (Walters, <i>Cat. of Roman Pottery in B.M.</i> , p. 13).
<u>ARDACVS</u> .OAR	La Graufesenque. Tiberius-Claudius (Comfort, <i>JAOs</i> , 58, p. 47). Knipowitsch, <i>Olbia</i> , p. 11, Abb. 2, 7.
<u>ΑΡΙΣΤΟ-</u> (?) ΑΡΙCΙ	Samos. Possibly the correct reading of this stamp, attributed by me to ΧΑΡΙΞ. (Cf. <i>QDAP</i> , VI, 53 [50]; Comfort, <i>JAOs</i> , 58, pp. 38-9.)
<u>ARREtinum</u> (?) (<i>sc. vasculum</i>) ARRE COPA ARET	(Cf. Oxé, <i>Bonner Jahrbücher</i> , 139 (1934), p. 232.) Cf. COPA. Notion (Comfort, <i>JAOs</i> , 58, p. 47 and ref.). Notion (Comfort, <i>loc. cit.</i>).
<u>C. ARVVS</u> C·ARVI C R VI 40	Corinth, C. 33.203. Ritterling 5. Corinth, C. 36.155. Rectangular stamp. [10]

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

P. ARVVS

P. ARVI Corinth, C. 36.2298. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 5.

ATEIVS

ATEIVS (?) AMA and MAHES were among his slaves.
Corinth, CP. 1542. Bowl. Micaceous clay.

CN. ATEIVS

UAT Athens, Agora. P. 6772. In pl. pedis. Small cup. Probably S. Gaulish.

CN · AIIΣ Athens, Agora. P. 7414. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 5.

ATE · Corinth, C. 33.334. Cup.

ATEI Corinth, (1) C. 33.327 ; (2) C. 37.2210. Rectangular stamp.

CNA Corinth, C. 36.1479. In pl. pedis. Bowl.

CNA Corinth, C. 36.1798. In pl. pedis. Cup.

AEI Corinth, C. 36.2320. Tiny stamp ; in pl. pedis. Ritterling 8.

CN · AEI Corinth, C. 33.1359. Rectangular stamp. Dish.

L. ATEIVS

Italian.

L · ATEI
TITT

Corinth, C. 30.90. Rectangular stamp with rounded corners.
Ritterling 9. With TITIVS.

ATTICUS (?)

ATTIC .. La Graufesenque (?). Nero-Flavian (Oswald, *Index*).
Corinth, C. 37.1563. Rectangular stamp. Dish.

P. ATTIVS

Arretine (Comfort, *JAOs*, 58, p. 48).

P · ATI Corinth, C. 29.112. Rectangular stamp: off centre. Large plate.

ATT Naukratis. In pl. pedis. British Museum L. 43 (Walters, *Cat. of Roman Pottery in B.M.*, p. 18).

A

A. Corinth, C. 35.40. Swallow-tail stamp. Cup.

A Corinth, C. 35.40. Swallow-tail stamp (about twelve examples).

AVCTVS

Arretine.

AVC Corinth, C. 37.2264. Rectangular stamp. Cup.

A · CTVS
L ANNI Corinth, C. 29.86. Rectangular stamp. With L · ANNIVS.

AVILLIVS, A, L and P (Cf. Comfort, *JAOs*, 58, p. 48.)

L · AVIL Athens, Agora. (1) P. 10062. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8 ;
(2) P. 6872. In pl. pedis. Bowl.

A · IL
>>>>> Athens, Agora: P. 7309. Ritterling 8.

G

- Λ·IL Athens, Agora: P. 5727.
-  AVILI Corinth, C. 34.251. Ritterling 8.
- Λ·ILL· Corinth, C. 36.147. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 1 (?).
- Α·Ι Athens, Agora: P. 9316. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8.
- Λ·AVIL Corinth, C. 37.2311. In pl. pedis. Cup (about seven times).
- Λ·ΙΛ Corinth, C. 28.31. In pl. pedis. Dish.
- Λ·IL Corinth, CP. 1547. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 5.
- Λ·AVIL Corinth, CP. 1546. In pl. pedis. Cup.
- VIL Corinth, CP. 1548. In pl. pedis. Dish.
- ΛAVIL Corfu. Form 26. In pl. pedis. British Museum L. 6 (Walters, *Cat. of Roman Pottery in B.M.*, p. 14).
- Α·Λ·V·Γ (?) Athens, Agora: P. 7513. In pl. pedis. Arretine? Form 27 (?) with overhanging lip, rouletted above.
- C·VE... AVrelius (?) Arretine (?).
- C·VE·A Athens, Agora: P. 9265. In pl. pedis. Bowl.
- BARGATHES Arretine. Augustan.
-  Corinth, C. 35.131. Rectangular stamp formed of tiny circles. Exterior of decorated bowl.
- BASSIN(I)VS South Gaul. Flavian (Oswald, *Index*; Comfort, *AJA*, xli (1937), p. 407).
- OFΘASSINI Egypt. Form 18. Rectangular stamp. Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto: G. 4576 (Comfort, *loc. cit.*).
- BLASTVS MVNATIVS (BAACTOC MOYNATIOC)
- BLATCI Pozzuoli (Comfort, *JAOs*, 58, p. 43). Also from Cumae and
MOYN Catania.
- C·CAM... SEVerus (?) Italian.
- C·CAM·SEV Corinth, CP. 1557. In pl. pedis. Dish.
- M·P·CAPITO Arretine. Nero-Flavian. Cf. Ohlenroth, *Italische Sigillata mit Auflagen aus Rätien und dem römischen Germanien*, p. 241.
- M·P·CÆITO Corinth, (1) C. 34.237. In pl. pedis; (2) C. 34.215. In pl. pedis. Dish.
- M·P·CÆITO Corinth, C. 34.172. In pl. pedis.
- P·CÆITO Corinth, C. 35.48. In pl. pedis. Plate.
- P·CÆITONS Corinth, C. 36.165. In pl. pedis.

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

- ..CAPITO Corinth, C. 36.7. In pl. pedis.
M·P·CAP... Corinth, C. 36.150. In pl. pedis.
...PITO Corinth, C. 34.1959. In pl. pedis. Plate.
CAP (?) (i.e. CAPITO?)
C·A·P Athens, Agora: P. 6910. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8. Arretine?
CAS..OC... (?)
CAS.. Corinth, C. 36.2163. Rectangular stamp.
OC...
Q·CAST..VE Italian (Comfort, *JAOs*, 58, p. 49).
Q·CASTVE Corinth, C. 32.201. In pl. pedis. Dish.
Q·CAS·VE Corinth, CP. 1550. In pl. pedis. Form 15?
L·CAVVS Arretine. Augusto-Claudian? Perhaps later in S. Gaul.
C·A·I Form 18? In pl. pedis. Petra. P.A.M. 37.295.
L·CAVI Corinth, C. 37.2385. Rectangular stamp. Plate or dish.
CELER Slave of RASINVS.
CILLIR Corinth, C. 34.128. Small cup.
RASIN
CILLIR Corinth, C. 37.2386. Rectangular stamp.
RASIN
CERTVS Italian. Augustan. Slave of RASINVS (Comfort, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, p. 208; Ohlenroth, *Italische Sigillata mit Auf-lagen aus Rätien und dem römischen Germanien*, p. 237).
CERTVS RASIN Corinth, Museum. Exterior of decorated bowl (Comfort, *AJA*, XXXIII (1929), p. 495, 25).
CLEMENS Arretine (Cincelli?). (Cf. Comfort, *JAOs*, 58, p. 50 and reff.)
HEEM Athens, Agora: P. 7647. Rectangular stamp; slightly swallow-tail ends. With P. CORNELIVS.
P·COR/
·ENI Corinth, C. 37.1571. Rectangular stamp.
·QR/
CLITVS
CLITVS Ephesus (Heberdey, *Ephesos*, I, p. 168). Rectangular stamp, in two lines. Plate, unglazed below. With SAVFEIVS.
SAVFE
C·CLODIVS SABINVS
C·CLS.. Corinth, C. 36.1488. In pl. pedis. Dish. N-graffito beneath.

P. CLODIVS PROCVLVS Arretine. Middle first century, A.D. (Cf. Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 49; *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, p. 192; Ihm, *Bj*, cii, p. 123; Oxé, *Ath. Mitt.*, lii, p. 222.)

- CLOD · PROC Corinth, C. 33.103. In pl. pedis.
 C · PROC! Corinth, C. 34.176. Carinated bowl.
 CL PR Corinth, C. 35.52. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 5.
 P. $\overline{\text{CL}}\text{PR}$ Corinth, C. 35.75. In pl. pedis. Within grooved circle. Ritterling 8.
 CLOD PROC Corinth, (1) C. 36.2325. In pl. pedis. Cup; (2) C. 36.784. In pl. pedis. Cup.
 P.CLO · PR. Corinth, C. 36.1842. In pl. pedis.
 . PROC! Corinth, C. 36.1924. In pl. pedis. Cup.
 ICLPR Corinth, C. 29.57. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8.
 PCLPR Beisān. In pl. pedis. University Museum, Philadelphia, No. 29-102-553 (Comfort and Waagé, *PEFQS*, 1936, p. 222 and Pl. I).

L. CLODIVS PROCVLVS

L CLOD PROC.. Corinth, C. 36.181. In pl. pedis.

COPA

COPA
ARET Notion (Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 47 and ref.). Cf. ARRE.

P. CORNELIVS Arretine (Cincelli?). (Cf. Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 50 and reff.; *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, pp. 193-4.) With HERACLIDES.

- HEEM Athens, Agora: P. 7647. Rectangular stamp, slightly swallow-tail ends. With CLEMENS.
 P · CORN Corinth, C. 34.294. Plate.
 CORNELI Corinth, C. 35.41. In pl. pedis. Dish.
 P · CORELI Corinth, C. 33.270. Rectangular stamp. Exterior of decorated bowl.



Corinth, C. 33.1332. Stamp in shape of heraldic shield. Dish.

CORNELI Corinth, C. 34.1792. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8.

. EN²
 . OR/ Corinth, C. 37.1571. Rectangular stamp.

P · COR Beisān. Haltern type 2 (almost). Rectangular stamp, with rounded ends. University Museum, Philadelphia, No. 29-102-568 (Comfort and Waagé, *PEFQS*, 1936, p. 222 and Pl. I). Also another example (*ibid.*, n. 3).

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

C. CRESTVS (CHRESTVS) (Comfort, *JAOs*, 58, p. 50.)

CRES ? From Cyprus. St. Germain-en-Laye. Part of No. 22250.
Bought in a sale at Hotel Drouot. Ritterling 8.

C· RESTI Athens, Agora: P. 6914. Probably S. Gaulish.

C R.....I
IIII Corinth, C. 37.2179. Rectangular stamp, in two lines, lower line missing.

CRE
STI Corinth, C. 28.40. Rectangular stamp. Ritterling 5 (?).

CHRESTIO
←←←←←
L·TITI ↓ Corinth, CP. 1538. Rectangular stamp. Form 33 (?). With L·TITIVS.

CRE
ST. Corinth, CP. 1537. Rectangular stamp. Dish.

CRISPINVS Arretine (Comfort, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, p. 195 and reff.).

CRIS
PIVI Corinth, C. 33.333. Bowl.

.A·T·CRI(?) Corinth, C. 36.2057. Rectangular stamp.

CRIS
PIVI Corinth, C. 29.121. Rectangular stamp, with rounded corners.

CRITO Arretine and S. Gaulish?

L TETTI
CRITO Corinth, C. 36.137. Rectangular stamp. Form 46. With L. TETTIVS.

ΓΑΙΟΣ

ΓΑΙΟΥ Smyrna (Comfort, *JAOs*, 58, p. 39). Also from S. Russia (Comfort, *ibid.*).

ΔΑΜΑ
DAMA

Arretine. Early Augustan.

A·SESTI·DAMA Cos. Large plate in Erlangen (*Phil. Woch.*, 1938: No. 1, 1 Jan., col. 19). With A·SESTIVS.

SESTI Corinth. Rectangular stamp (Comfort, *AJA*, XXXIII (1929),
DAAA p. 496 and Pl. VIII, 30).

ΔΕΙΟΣ (?)

ΔΕΙ Ephesus. Rectangular stamp. Dish (Heberdey, *Ephesos*, I, p. 170).
OY Also at Kertch (Comfort, *JAOs*, 58, p. 39).

DERASTICANIS

- ΔΕΡΑΣΤΙΚΑΝΙΣ Corinth, C. 35.60. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8.
 . ΕΡΑΣΤΙΚΑΝΙΣ Corinth, C. 34.2099. Ritterling 8. (Three examples, on same form.)
 ΔΕΡΑΣΤΙΚΑΝΙΣ Corinth, C. 29.123. In pl. pedis. Cup.

ΔΗΝΙΟΙ (?)

- ΔΗ
 ΝΙΟΙ Notion (Comfort, *JAOS*, 58, p. 39 and ref.).

ΔΙΔΥΜΟΣ

- ΔΙΔΥ
 Μ.Υ Ephesus. Carinated dish. Rectangular stamp (Heberdey, *Ephesos*, I, p. 170).
 ΔΙΔΥ
 ΜΟΥ Rome (twice) (Comfort, *JAOS*, 58, p. 39, quoting Oxé, *q.v.*).

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ

- ΔΙΟΝ
 ΥΣΙΟΥ Puteoli. Nero (Comfort, *JAOS*, 58, p. 39).
 ΔΙΟΝ
 ΥΣΙΟΥ Rome, Ponte Sistio. Mainz: Landesmuseum: O. 26310. Ritterling 5.
 ΔΙΟΝΥ
 ΣΙΟΥ Corinth, C. 34.89. Cup.
 ΔΙΟΝΥΚΙΟC Boscureale. Plate (*Notizie d. Scavi*, 1921, p. 425). Also at Puteoli, Lyon and Ampurias (Comfort, *ad loc.*).

ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ

- ΔΩΡΟΘΕ... Athens, Agora: P. 10806. Rectangular stamp. Large plate: reserved below. Covered above with *black* glaze. From a Hellenistic deposit?

ΔΩΡΟΝ

= several potters. Cf. pp. 32-3 [2-3].

Δ Ω
 ΡΟΝ

Athens, Agora: P. 467. Bowl.

Δ Ω
 ΡΟΝ

Athens, Agora: (1) P. 683. Small bowl, with vertical walls, concave externally; (2) P. 6813. Flat plate; within rouletted circle; (3) P. 229. Flat dish; within rouletted circle; (4) P. 2438. Bowl, with pedestal foot; (5) P. 7514. Rectangular stamp, Loeschcke, Type 8 *Ab*. Rouletting externally on lip. Low foot-ring; (6) P. 2449. Rectangular stamp. Form 46.

Δ Ω
 ΡΟΝ

Athens, Agora: P. 3820. Bowl.

ΔΩΡ
 ΝΟ

Corinth, C. 34.220. Tiny cup with elaborately turned ring base. 'Marbled' externally?

.. ΡΟΝ

Corinth, C. 36.4. Very faint. Small rounded cup with well-turned foot-ring, grooved below.

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

Δ Ω
PON Corinth, (1) C. 36.136. Rectangular(?) stamp. Rounded bowl, on well-turned ring base, grooved below. Soft yellowish-orange glaze; (2) C. 36.1713. Rectangular stamp. Cup.

Δ Ω Ρ
ON Corinth, C. 36.31. Rectangular(?) stamp. Rounded bowl.

Δ Ω Ρ Ο Ν Corinth, (1) C. 36.163. Rectangular stamp. Fragment of flat base; (2) C. 28.33. Rectangular stamp, rounded at one end. Cup.

· Δ Ω Ν
· Ρ : Ο . · Corinth, C. 36.200. *Black* glaze. Double rectangular stamp within countersunk ridge. Tiny cup.

Δ Ω
Ρ Ο Ν Athens, Agora: P. 10214. Rectangular stamp with concave ends. Rounded cup.

Ι Α Δ Ο
Ρ Ο Ν Corinth, C. 37.2387. Irregular rectangular stamp. With ΦΙΛΗΤΟΣ(?). Cup.

Δ Ω Ρ
Ο Ν Corinth, CP. 1620. Rectangular stamp with rounded end at left. Cup.

Δ Ω
Ρ Ο Ν Ephesus. Bowl. Three times. Square stamp with rounded corners (Heberdey, *Ephesos*, I, p. 170).

Ε. ΛΩΝ (?)

Ε. ΛΩΝ Ε[Π]ΟΙΕΙ Smyrna (Comfort, *JAOS*, 58, p. 40).

ΕΡΙΓΟΝΥΣ

ΕΠΙΓΟΝΟΣ

ΕΡΙΓΙ Corinth, C. 37.1606a. Semi-elliptical stamp. Ritterling 8.

ΕΡΙΓ· Corinth, C. 36.1480. Elliptical stamp.

ΕΠΙΓΟ
ΝΟΥ Ephesus. Rectangular stamp. Dish (Heberdey, *Ephesos*, I, p. 170). Also from Melos and Priene (Comfort, *JAOS*, 58, pp. 40-1).

ΕΡΑΣΤΥΣ (?)

ΕΡΑΖ
ΤΥΣ Italian.
Rome (Comfort, *JAOS*, 58, p. 41). As ΕΡΑΚΤΟΣ signs both in Greek and Latin, this form is probably a conflation of the two.

ΕΡΗΑΤΕΝΑ (?)

ΕΡΗΑ
ΟΟΟΟΟΟ
ΤΕΝΑ Corinth, C. 33.1268. Rectangular stamp. Slightly concave base of bowl.

ΕΡΜΑ

Group i ('Samian'). Also at Ephesus and in S. Russia (Comfort, *JAOS*, 58, p. 41).

ΕΡΜΑ Athens, Agora: P. 7434. Pedestal bowl.

ΕΡΜΑ Ephesus. Bowl. Rectangular stamp (Heberdey, *Ephesos*, I, p. 170).

ΕΡΜΗΣ

- ΕΡ P Athens, Agora: P. 8889. Rectangular stamp; in rouletted and
MHC grooved circle. Flat floor of dish.
- ΕΡ P Corinth, C. 34.179. Flat-bottomed dish; no foot-ring.
MHC
- ΕΡ C Corinth, C. 35.61. Tiny, flat-bottomed cup; foot-ring.
MH
- ΕΡΜHC Ephesus. In pl. pedis. Bowl (Heberdey, *Ephesos*, I, p. 170).
- ΕΡ Ephesus. Rectangular stamp. Pedestal bowl (Heberdey, *loc. cit.*, p. 171).
MHC
- ΕΡ Ephesus (twice). Rectangular stamp. Cup (Heberdey, *loc. cit.*,
ΜΟΥ p. 171).
- ΕΡΟ Rome. With ΕΡΩC (Comfort, *JAOs*, 58, p. 41).
ΕΡΜ

ΕΡΟΣΕΡΩC

N. Italian. Cf. s. C.ACO. (*QDAP*, VI, p. 23 [20].)

Mainz: Landesmuseum: O. 9144. Ritterling 5.



? From Rome. Mainz: Landesmuseum: O. 26274.



Rome, Ponte Sistio. Mainz: Landesmuseum: O. 26314.

ΕΡΟ
ΕΡΜ

Rome (Comfort, *JAOs*, 58, p. 41). With ΕΡΜHC.

ΕΡΩ

Rhegium (Comfort, *loc. cit.*).

ΩΩΩ

Smyrna. In pl. pedis (Comfort, *loc. cit.*).

ΕΡΟC C·ANNI Uncertain provenance (Comfort, *loc. cit.*). With C·ANNIVS.

ΕΥΗΟΔVS

ΕΥ.....(?) Corinth, C. 29.62. Probably in pl. pedis.

ΕΥΗ
••
ΡΑΣ

Corinth, C. 28.83. Elliptical stamp. Fragment of thin base.
With RASINIVS.

ΕΥΤΥΧΗΣ

Group ii.

Corinth, C. 37.2207. Unusually elaborate 'in pl. pedis' stamp,
with the nails shown. Shape resembling Form 18.

ΖΗΘΟΣ

ΣΗΘΟC

St. Germain-en-Laye. No. 31655. Cast of a stamp for a sigillata
vessel.

48

[18]

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

HAHTHΣ

HAH
TOY

Smyrna (Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 42).

HAIC

HA
IC

Miletopolis (Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 42).

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ

ΘΕΟΔ
ΩΡΟΝ

Group i (Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 42).

Corinth, C. 36.2090. Rectangular stamp. Tiny cup of typical Group i ware and style.

ΘΕΟΔ
ΟΡΟΥ

Corinth (Comfort, *loc. cit.* and ref.).

C. FASTVS (or FASTIDIVS) Arretine.

C · FAS

Athens, Agora: P. 7649. Base of bowl with sharply angular foot-ring. Broad step at internal junction of walls and base.

C. (?) FASTVS

Arretine?

.. FAΥTI

Corinth, C. 34.326. In pl. pedis. Form 24/25?

C · 2 · FA

Corinth, C. 28.6. In pl. pedis. Flat plate with high foot-ring.

.FE

/.FE

Corinth, C. 37.2454. In pl. pedis. ? M. FE (Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 51).

FELIX

Arretine. Augusto-Tiberian (Comfort, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, p. 196).



Corinth, C. 36.162. Ritterling 8. Sunk circle on underside of foot.



Athens, Agora: P. 7669. In pl. pedis to left. Loeschcke, Type 8 Ab. Rouletting round upper edge of rim.

FELIX

Corinth, C. 36.1938. Rectangular stamp, broken; within hachuring. Cup.

FELIX

Corinth, C. 29.84. Rectangular stamp with double line above and below. Ritterling 6 or 8.

C. C. FF.

Arretine(?).

C · C · FF|.

Corinth, C. 34.222. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8.

C · C · FF

Corinth, C. 36.30. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8.

H

J. H. ILIFFE

C. IVLIVS FIRMICVS Arretine (Comfort, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, p. 199, 73; Ohlenroth, *Italische Sigillata mit Auflagen aus Rätien und dem römischen Germanien*, p. 241).

C. 141. FIR Corinth, C. 35.50. In pl. pedis. Cup.

FR..TVS

FR
TVS

Corinth, C. 29.61. Rounded stamp. Ritterling 8.

GAVIVS
ΓΑΥΙΟΣ

Arretine (Comfort, *JAOA*, 58, p. 51).

GNI

Corinth (Comfort, *AA*, XXXIII (1929), p. 492, Pl. VIII, 14).

GALL

Beisān. In pl. pedis. University Museum, Philadelphia,
No. 29-102-555 (Comfort and Waagé, *QSt.*, 1936, p. 222 and
Pl. I).

FMI

Corinth (Comfort, *JAOs*, 58, p. 39 and ref.).

GAZA

? Italian.

GAZA
APOM

Corinth, CP. 1543. Rectangular stamp. Dish. With APOM(?).

L. GELLIVS

L CELL

Corinth, C. 36.522. Rectangular stamp. Only partially glazed below. Fragment of flat base.

GELL

Athens. Agora. In pl. pedis.

L · GEL

Corinth, C. 29.126. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 5 (?).

• CELI

Corinth, C. 34.1907. In pl. pedis. Dish.

COLLORE

Corinth, CP. 1551. In pl. pedis. Plate or dish with high foot-
ring.

GELI

Corinth, CP. 1626. In pl. pedis. Bowl.

L CELL

Corfu, Form 1. In pl. pedis British Museum, L. 2 (Walters, *Cat. of Roman Pottery in B.M.*, p. 13).

HERACLIDES

Puteoli. Also a slave of P. CORNELIVS (?).

EIRACLI

Naukratis. Plate. Rectangular stamp. British Museum, L. 40
(Walters, *Cat. of Roman Pottery in B.M.*, p. 18; Comfort, *JASO*,
58, p. 51).

HERMA

Arretine.

C. TITI

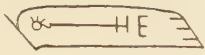
Ephesus (Heberdey, *Ephesos*, I, p. 169). Rectangular stamp in two lines. Cup. With C. TITIVS.

HERM

50

[20]

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

- P. HERTORIVS (?) Comfort, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, p. 198.
 Athens, Agora: P. 9867. Planta pedis stamp, within four rouletted circles. Form 15/17; on collar foot-ring.
- HILARVS Arretine. Augustan.
HILA
RVS Corinth, CP. 1856. Rounded stamp. Ritterling 8.
- IANVARIVS Italian. Augusto-Tiberian (Comfort, *J.AOS*, 58, p. 51; *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, p. 198, 70).
 Athens, Agora: P. 7644. Circular stamp. Loeschcke, Type 8 Ab.
i.e. IANVARIVS Also from Seleucia, Mesopotamia (Comfort, *loc. cit.*).
FECI
- ΙΑΤΡΟΚΛΗΣ
ΙΑΤΡΟΚΛΥΣ Group i ('Samian').
ΙΑΤΡ
ΟΚΛΙ Athens, Agora: P. 9315.
ΙΑΤΡΟΚ
ΛΕΟΥΞ Athens, Agora: P. 5767. Plate.
ΙΑΤΡΟ
ΚΛΗΣ Athens, Agora: P. 8457. Rectangular stamp. Rounded bowl.
ΙΑΤΡΟ
ΚΛΗΣ Kertch. Form 20. Rectangular stamp. British Museum, L. 8. Read by Walters (doubtfully) and Comfort (*J.AOS*, 58, p. 54) as ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΗΣ, but in all the examples I have seen the first letter, though faint, is more like an 'I' than a 'Π' or 'Ρ' (Walters, *Cat. of Roman Pottery in B.M.*, p. 14). Heberdey (*Ephesos*, I, p. 171) also reads 'I'.
ΙΑΤΡΟΚ
ΛΕΟΥΞ Ephesus. Rectangular stamp. Dish (Heberdey, *loc. cit.*).
- IMBER Italian.
IMBRI Corinth, C. 29.56. Rectangular stamp. (Below, graffito ΔΙΟΝΥ-
CΙΟΥ.)
IMB Corinth, CP. 1552. In pl. pedis. Dish.
- C. IMBER Arretine.
.CIMBE Corinth, C. 35.822. Rectangular stamp. Early Form 15/17.
.ETT With TETIVS.
- INGEN Arretine. Augustan?
INGEN
L·ANN Antioch (Comfort, *J.AOS*, 58, p. 47). With L·ANNIVS.

<u>IVCVNDVS</u>	Arretine, Augustan (Comfort, <i>Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome</i> , VII, p. 199, 72).
IVYH(?)	Corinth, C. 29.49. Elliptical stamp. Cup.
IVC	Corinth, C. 32.205. Rectangular stamp. With T. RVFRENIVS.
T.RFRE	
<u>IVLIVS</u>	
IVLI	Athens, Agora: P. 6982. In wreath.
<u>IVN</u>	Arretine(?).
IVN	Corinth, C. 36.519. Rectangular stamp. Arretine(?). Ritterling 8.
<u>KΑΙCΑΡΗΑ</u>	(= Tralles: Comfort, <i>JAS</i> , 58, p. 40.) ? Early 1st cent. A.D.
ΕΚΚΑΙ	Notion: (twice). Comfort (<i>loc. cit.</i>) has very plausibly argued that
CAPIIAΣ	we have here the first recognized vases from the potteries of Tralles, mentioned by Pliny.
<u>KAI CY</u>	'Kleinasiatisch' ?
KAI CY	Tarsus. Bowl. Swallow-tail stamp. British Museum, L. 38
(= καὶ σὺ)	(Walters, <i>Cat. of Roman Pottery in B.M.</i> , p. 18, who reads KAKY. But cf. Comfort, <i>JAS</i> , 58, p. 42).
<u>KAKY</u>	See KAI CY above.
<u>KΑΛΑ</u>	= καλά (Oxé, <i>Germania</i> , Anz. 21 (1937), 137). Group i.
KAM	Found at Laodicea, Asia Minor. Now in Mainz: Landesmuseum, O. 7543d. Dish. Within grooved circle.
KA	Athens, Agora: P. 9930. Plate. Rectangular stamp.
AA	
K... AA	Athens, Agora: P. 9169. In pl. pedis. Very doubtful. Base of bowl.
KAA	Ephesus. Rectangular stamp with rounded ends. Dish (Heberdey, <i>Ephesos</i> , I, p. 171).
<u>KΑΛΛΙΚΛΗΣ</u>	Group i.
KΑΛΛΙ	Athens, Agora: P. 7523. Plate.
KΛHC	
<u>KEPΔOΣ</u>	Groups i and ii. A 'redender Stempel' (Oxé, <i>Germania</i> , Anz. 21 (1937), 137).
KEP	Athens, Agora: P. 9855. Rectangular stamp. Small bowl with sloping walls and out-turned rim, rouletted above.
ΔOC	
ΔOΔPEK	Beisān. Dish. Rectangular stamp, irregular; <i>retro</i> , but letters facing r. University Museum, Philadelphia, No. 29-102-554 (Comfort and Waagé, <i>QSt.</i> , 1936, pp. 223-4, and Pl. II, 5). Group ii.

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

ΚΕΡ ΔΟC	Ephesus. Twice. Rectangular stamp with rounded ends. Dish (Heberdey, <i>Ephesos</i> , I, p. 171).
ΚΕΡΔΟC	Ephesus. Swallow-tail stamp, double. Dish (Heberdey, <i>loc. cit.</i> , p. 175).
ΚΕΡ ΔΟC	Smyrna (Comfort, <i>JAOS</i> , 58, p. 42). Also at Ostia and Aquileia (Comfort, <i>ad loc.</i>).
<u>ΚΕC</u> (?) ΚΕC	Tarsus. Plate. Swallow-tail stamp. British Museum, L. 36 (Walters, <i>Cat. of Roman Pottery in B.M.</i> , p. 18).
<u>ΚΟΙΠΑΝΟC</u> ΚΟΙΡ ΑΝΟΥ	Ephesus. Dish. Rectangular stamp with rounded corners. (Heberdey, <i>Ephesos</i> , I, p. 171.)
ΚΟΙΡ · ΝΟΥ	Kertch (Comfort, <i>JAOS</i> , 58, p. 43 and ref.). Also at Corinth and Spalato (Comfort, <i>loc. cit.</i>).
ΚΟΙΡΑ ΝΟΥ	Olbia (Comfort, <i>loc. cit.</i>).
<u>ΚΟCΜΑC</u> (?) ΚΟCΜ CΑVFEI	Rome (Comfort, <i>JAOS</i> , 58, p. 43). With CΑVFEIVC.
<u>C. L. CIE</u> (?) C · L · CIE	Italian. Corinth, CP. 1556. In pl. pedis. Cup.
<u>P. L. C</u> P · L · C FE (?)	Corinth, C. 34.295. In pl. pedis. (Or PL. CPR as Comfort, <i>JAOS</i> , 58, p. 55?)
<u>ΑΕΩΝΑ</u> (?) ΑΕ ΩΝΑ	Ephesus (twice). Dish. Rectangular stamp (Heberdey, <i>Ephesos</i> , I, p. 171).
<u>L · · O</u> L · Δ · O	Arretine? Athens, Agora: P. 6990. In pl. pedis.
<u>Q. LV · C.</u> (?) · · LYC	N. Italian (Ohlenroth, <i>Italische Sigillata mit Auflagen aus Rätien und dem römischen Germanien</i> , p. 240). Corinth, C. 33.1426. In pl. pedis. Dish.
<u>LVCI</u> IVCI · · LYCI	Corinth, C. 33.332. Bowl. Swallow-tail stamp. Corinth, C. 34.271. Rectangular stamp. Within rouletted band enclosed by grooved circles. Flat dish.
LVCI	Corinth, (1) C. 36.159. Swallow-tail stamp. Cup; (2) C. 35.910. Rectangular stamp with swallow-tail end at left. Dish.

C. M. R Arretine (Comfort, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, pp. 200-1).
Possibly identical with C. MERI or C. MEMMIVS (*QDAP*, VI,
p. 40 [37].

C · M · R Corinth, C. 33.321. Cup.

C · M · R Corinth, (1) C. 36.199. In pl. pedis. Cup. Within grooved
circle; (2) C. 36.10. In pl. pedis. Within grooved circle.
Cup.

C · M · R Corinth, C. 36.1504. In pl. pedis. Small dish or cup.

· M · R · Corinth, C. 37.1529. In pl. pedis.

L. M. P. Arretine(?)



Corinth, C. 29.83. Three-lobed stamp.

SEXTVS M. CL. Italian (?) (Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 52).

SEX M CL Corinth, CP. 1549. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8.

SEX. M {a ? . . } F(estus(?)) Arretine and Puteolan? (Ohlenroth, *Italische Sigillata*
{urrius ?} *mit Auflagen aus Rätien und dem römischen Germanien*,
p. 241; Comfort, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII,
pp. 199-200, Nos. 76 sqq.).

S · M · F Corinth, C. 37.2456. In pl. pedis. Dish.

S · M · F Corinth, C. 33.1333. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8.

SEX M (?) Corinth, C. 36.1410. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8.

S · M · F Corinth, C. 29.60. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8(?).

A. M. PRVDENTIS Arretine (Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 52).

Δ M P P V (?) Corinth, C. 36.523. In pl. pedis. Form 24/25.

S · M · T

S · M · T Byblos. Base of flat plate. (Form 15/17?) In pl. pedis (Montet,
Byblos et l'Égypte, p. 258, No. 1014; Atlas, Pl. CLV).

MACCARVS S. Gaul: La Graufesenque. Tiberius-Nero (Oswald, *Index*;
Comfort, *JAS*, XLI (1937), p. 407).

MACCARVST Egypt(?). Form 18. Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology,
Toronto: G. 4578 (Comfort, *loc. cit.*).

MAHES

Arretine. Slave of ATEIVS; later a freedman (Oswald-Pryce, *T.S.*,
p. 5; cf. Dragendorff, *Bj*, 96/97, p. 48; Loeschke, Haltern,
171).



Corinth, CP. 1539. In tabula ansata. Fragment of plate. Unglazed
below.

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

SEXTVS MALIVS

Puteoli.

SEX · M ·

Athens, Agora: P. 8893. Cup.

A. MANNEIVS

Arretine (Ohlenroth, *Italische Sigillata mit Auflagen aus Rätien und dem römischen Germanien*, p. 239).

A · LAN

Corinth, C. 38.524 (and about six other examples). In pl. pedis. Ritterling 9.

· I · MAN

Corinth, CP. 1561. In pl. pedis. Cup.

MARCVS

Same as MARKOΣ?

... CVS

Athens, Agora: P. 9165. Plate with raised horizontal rim. Clay and glaze of Group i.

ΛARC

Corinth, C. 33.164. Small cup.

VC RAM

Corinth, C. 33.168. Black glazed bowl: red on under side of foot. Buff paste.

ΛARCI

Corinth, CP. 1748. In pl. pedis.

VC RAM

Corinth, CP. 1004. Rectangular stamp. Bowl.

MARKOΣ

MAP
KOY

Aquileia (twice) and Emona (Comfort, *JAOs*, 58, p. 43 and reff.).

MENEKPATHS

MENE
KPATOY

Group i.

Corinth, C. 36.149. Rectangular stamp. Dish with very low foot-ring.

C. MERI

Arretine and/or S. Gaulish? Augusto-Tiberian. (Cf. Comfort, *JAOs*, 58, p. 52; *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, p. 200.) Cf. C. M. R.

C. ME

Athens, Agora: P. 6877. In pl. pedis. ? A S.-Gaulish piece.

C · MER

Athens, Agora: P. 8138. In pl. pedis. Cup.

C · MER

Athens, Agora: P. 6754. In pl. pedis. Flat plate, with rouletted band.

.. IRI

Athens, Agora: P. 9988. Rectangular stamp. Ritterling 1 (?).

· C · MER

Corinth, CP. 1560. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 1.

METIL

Arretine?

METIL

Corinth, C. 34.186. In pl. pedis. Dish.

MHNOΓENHS

MHNO
ΓENOY

Smyrna (Comfort, *JAOs*, 58, p. 43).

MHTPOΣ (?)

MHTPOC Russia? (Comfort, *J.AOS*, 58, p. 43 and ref.).

MIKPOΣ

MIKPOY Cyprus: Nikosia Museum, D. 132 (1935). Wide, shallow plate on foot-ring. Slightly everted walls. Within two coarse rouletted circles. Swallow-tail stamp.

MIN. .CVRVS 3rd cent. A.D. Slave of L. NOSTILIVS (q.v.).

FORMA L NOSTILI Crete. British Museum, L. 1. Around a medallion
SERVOS MIN. .CVRVS from a vase (Walters, *Cat. of Roman Pottery in B.M.*,
FECIT p. 13).

MINAIC

A N.-Italian maker of marbled ware? 1st cent. A.D.

MINAIC. Modena. Dish (Comfort, *J.AOS*, 58, p. 43. From Cavedoni's description there quoted, this would seem to be a piece of marbled ware. Cf. pp. 34-6 [4-6]).

MVRRANUS ?

Italian?

W RRAV Corinth, C. 36.1757. In pl. pedis to l. Fragment of small cup.

NIKOCTPATOC Puteoli? (Comfort, *J.AOS*, 58, pp. 43-4).

NIKOCTPATOC Unknown provenance(?) An ACO style beaker (Comfort, *loc. cit.* and ref.).

NIK

OCTP

Rome (Comfort, *loc. cit.*).

L. NONI... (?)

Arretine(?)

NONI...

Corinth, C. 35.43. Crescent-shaped stamp, within two counter-sunk circular ridges. Rounded bowl; foot-ring. For shape of stamp cf. Comfort, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, p. 208, 122 (end of period of Arretine production). This shape also used by RASINIVS. Cf. SVRiscus (L. Noni): Ohlenroth, *Italische Sigillata mit Auflagen aus Rätien und dem römischen Germanien*, p. 241.

L. NOSTILIVS 3rd cent. A.D. Cf. MIN. .CVRVS.

FORMA L NOSTILI Crete. British Museum L. 1. Around a medallion
SERVOS MIN. .CVRVS from a vase (Walters, *Cat. of Roman Pottery in B.M.*,
FECIT p. 13).

C. NVMerius FELIX Italian (Comfort, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, p. 203; *J.AOS*, 58, p. 53).

C NVMF Corinth, C. 34.228. In pl. pedis. Form 18.

C NVF Corinth, C. 34.180. In pl. pedis. Form 18.

C NVIL Corinth, C. 35.58. In pl. pedis. Within small grooved circle.

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

- C NVFE Corinth, C. 36.161. In pl. pedis. Base of cup.
C NVMF Corinth, C. 36.140. In pl. pedis. Form 18 (or 15?).

C. NVMERIVS RESTITUTUS Italian. (Cf. Comfort, *JAOs*, 58, p. 53; *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, p. 203, 96; Ohlenroth, *Italische Sigillata mit Auflagen aus Rätien und dem römischen Germanien*, p. 241.)

- C NVMRĒ Corinth, C. 33.329. In pl. pedis.
C NVR Corinth, C. 33.326. In pl. pedis. Form 18 or variant.
C NVRES... Corinth, C. 33.319. In pl. pedis? Form 18 or variant.
·MRĒ Corinth, C. 34.324. In pl. pedis.
C NVRE Corinth, C. 35.73. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8 or similar.
C NVRI Corinth, C. 36.1298. Dish. In pl. pedis.
/R (?) Corinth, C. 36.1584. Dish. In pl. pedis.

C. NVMERIVS

- C NV... Corinth, C. 34.2209. Probably in pl. pedis.

OCTAVVS (same as OCTAVVS of L. OCT. SAL and L. OCT. PROC(?)).

- OCTA... Corinth, C. 36.141. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 1 (?).

L. OCTAVI PROCLVS Italian. (Cf. Comfort, *JAOs*, 58, p. 53; *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, p. 203, 97.)

- OCT PRO Corinth, C. 33.165. In pl. pedis. Bowl; (2) C. 36.142. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8; (3) C. 36.524. Form 18? In pl. pedis; (4) C. 36.133. In pl. pedis. Within small grooved circle. Ritterling 8; (5) CP. 1554. In pl. pedis. Base of shallow dish.
OIP!O Corinth, C. 34.199. In pl. pedis. Cup.
OIP!O? Corinth, C. 34.183. In pl. pedis.
O PROCI Corinth, C. 35.36. In pl. pedis. Dish.
. OCTA PRO Corinth, C. 35.92. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8.
P.ROC. Corinth, C. 36.198. In pl. pedis. Base fragment of cup.
OC PRO Corinth, C. 37.2097. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8.
...PRC Corinth, C. 34.2344. In pl. pedis. Cup.
O PROC Corinth, C. 33.1335. Cup. In pl. pedis(?), but toes disproportionately narrow.
OCTA PRO Corinth, C. 34.2147. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 9. *Appliqué* on rim.

L. OCTAVI SALVTARIS Italian. (Cf. Comfort, *JAS*, 58, pp. 53-4.)

- OCTSA Corinth, (1) C. 33.331. In pl. pedis. Carinated dish; (2) C. 35.77. In pl. pedis. Bowl.
- OC·T·SA Corinth, C. 33.330. In pl. pedis.
- OCT·S·A Corinth, C. 34.177. In pl. pedis. Carinated dish.
- OCT·SA Corinth, C. 34.189. In pl. pedis. Carinated dish.
- OCTSAL Corinth, C. 34.188. In pl. pedis.
- ..:TA·SA Corinth, C. 35.66. In pl. pedis. Dish.
- OCTSAI Corinth, C. 35.120. In pl. pedis. Within small grooved circle. Ritterling 8.
- OC·TSA Corinth, C. 36.32. In pl. pedis. Dish.
- OCT SAL Corinth, C. 36.2. In pl. pedis. Within grooved circle. Ritterling 8.
- OCTSA Athens, Agora: P. 12.424. Form 15/17.
- O...T...A Corinth, C. 34.1905. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8.
- O...T...A Corinth, C. 36.1602. In pl. pedis. Cup.
- OCT·SAL Corinth, C. 34.1767. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 6 or similar. With five rosettes *appliquées* around. Form of Ohlenroth, *loc. cit.*, p. 244, Abb. 3, 8.

ohc (?)



Group i.

Athens, Agora: P. 10.443. Dish; within triple rouletted circle. Inside, red and brownish-black glaze; outside, red glaze: all very worn. Context seems to indicate 1st cent. B.C.—1st cent. A.D., but style and form of stamp seem earlier?

ONHΣIMOS
ONESIMVS

- AHNO Dura Europos, 1937.
- ONII (?) Corinth, C. 30.63. In pl. pedis.
- ON
HM Corinth. Square stamp with rounded corners (Comfort, *AJA*, XXXIII (1929), p. 500 and Pl. VIII, 43).
- ONHΣ
IMOY Smyrna (Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 44).

ΟΠΑΩΝΟΣ

- OTIA... (?) Antioch (excavations).
- OT·A (?) Corinth, C. 28.111. Rectangular stamp with rounded corners. Ritterling 9.
-  (?) Athens, Agora: P. 9057. Circular stamp. Creamy glaze varying to red. Dish.

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

<u>OPTATVS</u>	Arretine (Comfort, <i>Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome</i> , VII, p. 204).
PTA	Corinth, C. 36.277. Rectangular stamp with rounded corners.
IV	Ritterling 8.
PI/	Corinth, C. 36.1503. Rectangular stamp with rounded corners.
TV	Ritterling 8.
OPTA	Corinth, (1) C. 29.55. Rectangular stamp with rounded corners
TVS	Form 33 (?); (2) C. 36.277. Rectangular stamp with rounded corners. Ritterling 8.
. TA	Corinth, C. 29.96. Rectangular stamp with rounded corners.
. VS	Ritterling 9 or similar.
<u>ΟΡΕΙΟΣ</u>	See <u>ΩΡΑΙΟΣ</u> [p. 72 (42)].
<u>ΟΥΕΙΡΟΣ</u>	
ΟΥΕΙΡΟΣ	Capua (Comfort, <i>JAOs</i> , 58, p. 44).
<u>CPLB</u>	Italian?
C P B	Corinth, C. 37.2114. Rectangular stamp with rounded ends.
<u>L. P. E.</u>	Italian or imitation?
LPoE	Corinth, C. 36.1476. Rectangular stamp with swallow-tail ends. Dish.
<u>M. P. P.</u>	Arretine. Nero-Flavian (Ohlenroth, <i>Italische Sigillata mit Auflagen aus Rätien und dem römischen Germanien</i> , p. 241).
M · P · P ·	Corinth, C. 36.13. In pl. pedis, within small grooved circle. Ritterling 8.
<u>S. P. M.</u>	Arretine (?)
· S P M	Corinth, C. 29.91. Rectangular stamp. Cup.
<u>M. T. PAP . . . (?)</u>	Arretine (?). (Cf. Comfort, <i>Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome</i> , VII, p. 205, 109.)
ΑΡΡΑΡ	Athens, Agora: P. 6800. In pl. pedis. Dish.
<u>ΠΑΠΙΟΣ</u>	
ΠΑΠ	Ephesus. Rectangular stamp (<i>Forschungen in Ephesos</i> , I, p. 172, 38).
ΙΟΥ	
ΠΑ .	Priene. Formerly read ΠΑ[ΞΕ]ΟΥ (Comfort, <i>JAOs</i> , 58, p. 44
. ΟΥ	and reff.).
<u>ΠΑΥΡΟ (P. AV. P (?))</u>	(Comfort, <i>JAOs</i> , 58, p. 54; Ohlenroth, <i>Italische Sigillata mit Auflagen aus Rätien und dem römischen Germanien</i> , p. 241.)
	Arretine. Nero-Flavian.
ΠΑΥΡΟ	Athens, Agora: P. 3498. Cup.
ΠΑΥΡ.Ρ.Θ	Corinth, CP. 1553. In pl. pedis. Base of rounded bowl. Ritterling 6 or 8.

M. PERENNIVS

M. PEREN... Athens, Agora: P. 7245. Fragment of form 37, or pedestal vase.
Stamped externally, in relief.

M. PEREI... Corinth, C. 36.1917. Rectangular stamp. Form 16 (?). With
TICRAI... TIGRANVS.

M PER
C·TELI Corinth, C. 36.1506. Rectangular stamp with rounded corners.
With C·TELLIVS.

PHILEROS

Arretine. Augustan (Ohlenroth, *Italische Sigillata mit Auflagen aus Rätien und dem römischen Germanien*, pp. 237 and 240).

PHERO
L·ANNI Corinth, C. 36.151. Rectangular stamp. Ritterling 6 or 8 (?).
With L·ANNIVS.

L·TETI
PHERO Corinth, CP. 965. Rectangular stamp. Cup. With L·TETTIVS.

PHIOGENA

Arretine. (Cf. Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 57.)

PL·O·C
VMBRI Corinth, C. 34.256. Cup. With L·VMBRICIVS.

PHIOGE Corinth, in Museum. Very large plate, c. 0.90 m. diameter.
Rectangular stamp. Twice stamped. (Cf. the following.)

PHOGEN
A·SESTI Corinth, in Museum. Twice stamped, off centre. Double rect-
angular stamp. Same plate as preceding stamp. With A·SESTIVS.

PHILOMela

PHILOM
·AVFEI Corinth, C. 36.139. Rectangular? stamp. Cup. With SAVFEIVS.

PILus (?)

Italian (?) (Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 55, who quotes C. PILI (*CIL*,
XV, 5440)).

PIL· Corinth, C. 28.27. Rectangular stamp. Ritterling 8.

L. PLOTIVS

Italian, perhaps Arretine? (Cf. Comfort, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*,
(*PLOTIDIVS (?)*) Po(r...) VII, pp. 206, 110 and 111.)

PLOTY
RVFI Corinth, C. 28.34. Rectangular stamp in two lines. Dish. With
RVFVS.

ΠΟΘΟΣ

Group i ('Samian'). (Cf. Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 44, who reports
it from Ephesus, Smyrna, and Antioch.)

ΠΟ
ΘΟΥ Athens, Agora: P. 5943. Small bowl.

ΠΟΘΟΥ Athens, Agora: P. 7786. Plate, within rouletted band enclosed
by two incised circles.

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

ΠΟ	Corinth, (1) C. 35.63. Within rouletted band enclosed by grooved
ΘΟΥ	circles. Dish or plate; (2) C. 36.1185. Rectangular stamp. Cup.
ΠΟ	Ephesus. Five times. Rectangular stamp (Heberdey, <i>Ephesos</i> ,
ΘΟΥ	I, p. 172).
ΠΟΘΥ	Antioch, P. 1019. Cup. So read by Waagé: formerly attributed
	to ΠΟΣΙΔΩΝΙΟΣ (<i>QDAP</i> , VI. 43 (40); Comfort, <i>JAS</i> , 58,
	p. 44).
ΠΟ	Smyrna (Comfort, <i>loc. cit.</i>).
ΘΟΥ	

Q. POMPEIVS SERENVS Puteoli. (Cf. Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 55.)

SERNI	Athens, Agora: P. 6840. Bowl.
SER	Corinth, C. 34.226. Circular stamp; name within a wreath.
ENI	Loeschcke, 8 Ab.
ΡΞΕ·Ο	Corinth, C. 37.2544. In pl. pedis <i>retro</i> . Loeschcke 15 a.
Q SER	Corinth, C. 35.687. In pl. pedis. Cup.
Q·SE	Corinth, C. 29.94. Rectangular stamp. Dish.
.SER	Corinth, C. 36.1508. In pl. pedis. Cup.
P·OME	Athens, Agora: P. 7010. In pl. pedis, very tiny. Loeschcke 12
	or Ritterling 8.
I	
O: POI..	Corinth, C. 28.29. Circular stamp. Loeschcke 12 or Ritterling 8.
SERI..	

ΠΟΣΙΔΩΝΙΟΣ POSIDONIVS

	Knossos. Small cup.
ΠΟCΙ	
ΔΩΝ	Athens, (1) Agora: P. 6617. Bowl; (2) Agora: P. 8066. Bowl.
ΙΟΥ	
ΠΟCΙ	
ΔΩΝ	Corinth, C. 33.285. Dish.
ΙΟΥ	
	Corinth, C. 36.134. Elliptical stamp with <i>ansae</i> at end. Flat-bottomed dish, grooved, with very low foot-ring. Orange-yellow glaze: i.e. typical Group i ware and shape.
	Corinth, C. 36.1589. Circular stamp. Fragment of base. Assigned to ΠΟΣΙΔΩΝΙΟΣ on grounds of style; this potter is rare, if not unique so far, in signing in three lines within a circle.

J. H. ILIFFE

ΠΟCΙ ΔΩΝ ΙΟΥ	Ephesus. Pedestal bowl. Square stamp with rounded corners (Heberdey, <i>Ephesos</i> , I, p. 173).
ΠΟΞΕΙ ΔΩΝΙ ΟΥ	Notion (Comfort, <i>JAOS</i> , 58, p. 44 and ref.).
ΠΟΞΙΑ ΩΝΙΟΥ	Olbia (Comfort, <i>loc. cit.</i> , and reff.).
<u>PRIMVS</u>	
PRIM·	Corinth, C. 37.2149. In pl. pedis. (Three examples.) Pedestal dish with carination, above which vertical walls.
PRIM· ·VS·	Corinth, C. 37.2209. Rectangular stamp with rounded corners. Cup?
<u>PRINCEPS</u>	
PRINCE PS·TITI	Arretine. Slave of TITIVS. Worked also with C. TETIVS.
Ç·TETI PRIN	Cyprus. Nikosia Museum D. 88 (1935). Rectangular stamp. Dish with vertical walls. Salamis (Comfort, <i>JAOS</i> , 58, p. 58, etc.).
ΠΥΛΑΔΗΣ	Corinth, C. 36.1606. Rectangular stamp, in two lines. Shallow flat dish, resembling early Form 15.
ΠΥΛΑ ➤➤➤➤➤➤	Pozzuoli (twice, once <i>retro</i>) (Comfort, <i>JAOS</i> , 58, p. 44 and reff.).
ΠΥ	Capua (Comfort, <i>ibid.</i> , p. 45).
<u>PVPVS</u>	
PV·V	Apparently PVPVS (i) of S. Gaul; Claudian (Oswald, <i>Index</i>). Corinth, C. 33.315. Swallow-tail stamp. Cup.
<u>RASINVS</u>	
EVH ●● RAS	Corinth, C. 28.83. Elliptical stamp. With EVHODVS?
CIILIIIR RASIN	Corinth, C. 37.2386. Rectangular stamp. With CELER.
CIILIIIR RASIN	Corinth, C. 34.128. Cup. With CELER.
ANTER RASIN	Corinth, C. 29.118. Rectangular stamp. Bowl(?) with slightly conical interior base, as Form 18/31. With ANTERos.
RASII	Corinth, CP. 1624. Rectangular stamp. Large plate with heavy rectangular foot-ring.
R.....(?)	Corinth, C. 37.2132. Rectangular stamp. Fragment of flat plate, unglazed below.
RA\SN	Corinth, CP. 1536. Rectangular stamp. Form 33.
62	[32]

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

- RASINI Corinth, CP. 1525. Rectangular stamp. Base fragment of heavy rounded bowl.
- RASN Athens, Agora: P. 7825. Dish.
- TETTI RASIN Corinth, C. 33.328. With L. TETTVS.
- RASIN Corinth, C. 34.185. Form 33.
- SVRI RASI Corinth, C. 35.59. i.e., ^{SVRIscus} _{RASInius} ? (cf. Ohlenroth, *Italische Sigillata mit Auflagen aus Rätien und dem römischen Germanien*, p. 241). Bowl.
- RASN Corinth, C. 35.105. Rectangular stamp. Cup.
- RASN Corinth, C. 36.148. Rectangular stamp. Form 33 (?).
- CERTVS RASIN Corinth, Museum. Exterior of decorated bowl. With CERTVS.
- RASN Corinth, C. 36.1590. Rectangular stamp. Cup.
- DASI (?) Corinth, C. 29.106. Rectangular stamp. Ritterling 8 or similar.
- C. RASINVS Arretine. Augustan (Comfort, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, p. 207).
-  Corinth, CP. 1545. Form 33.
- Q · RASI Corinth, C. 33.1015. In pl. pedis. Cup.
- L. RASINVS Augustan. Italian (Comfort, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, p. 207).
- L · RASINI Corinth, C. 34.221. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8 or similar.
-  Corinth, C. 56.1583. Plate. Rectangular stamp.
- L. RASINVS PISANVS Italian. Nero-Flavian (Comfort, *JAOs*, 58, pp. 55-6. Ohlenroth, *Italische Sigillata mit Auflagen aus Rätien und dem römischen Germanien*, pp. 241, 248, 249).
- L · R · PI Athens, Agora: P. 7650. Plate. In pl. pedis.
- L · R · P · Corinth, C. 33.184. Cup. In pl. pedis. Double-line letters.
- L · R · API Corinth, C. 35.62. In pl. pedis. Dish; within rouletted band enclosed by grooved circles.
- L R:AS P Corinth, C. 35.64. In pl. pedis. Within grooved circle. Ritterling 8.

J. H. ILIFFE

- REGINVS Gaulish (but *v.* Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 56).
- REGINVS F Form 29. Found in Egypt; now in Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum (Cast in Mainz, Landesmuseum, No. 24180). (Comfort suggests *REGENVS*, *loc. cit.*)
- G. RI (?)
- G • R! Athens, Agora: P. 8142. In pl. pedis.
- ROSCIVS Arretine?
- ROSCI Corinth, C. 35.53. In pl. pedis. Thin plate, with very low foot-ring.
- POYΦOΣ
- POY Kertch (Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 45 and ref.).
- ΦOC
- . OY Ephesus. Dish (Comfort, *ibid.* and ref.).
- . OC
- T. RVFRENIVS Arretine. Augustan.
- RVFR Petra. Form 18 (?). In pl. pedis. P.A.M. 37.660.
- T • RF Petra. Form 24/25. P.A.M. 37.661.
- I • RF ? Corinth, C. 36.1487. Elliptical (?) stamp.
- III A
- I^V C Corinth, C. 32.205. Rectangular stamp. With *IVCVNDVS*.
- T • RFRE
-  Corinth, CP. 1544. Ritterling 8.
- T. RVFRENIVS CLASSIS Arretine.
- T • RF. CL^A Corinth, C. 37.2425. In pl. pedis. Flat dish with incurving vertical walls.
- RVFVS With *L. PLOTIVS*.
- PLOTBI Corinth, C. 28.34. Rectangular stamp in two lines. Dish.
- RVFI
- L. S. M. Italian (Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 57).
- L • SM Beisān. University Museum, Philadelphia, No. 29-102-556 (Comfort and Waagé, *QSt.*, 1936, pp. 222-3 and Pl. II, 4).
- SAMIA
- SA...IA Corinth, C. 34.289. Loeschke 3*b* or similar. Stamp off centre, within band of rouletting between grooved circles. Pinkish buff ware.

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II


TTTT
SAAIA

Corinth, C. 36.144. Rectangular(?) stamp. Only partially glazed below. With L. TETTVS.


SAIIIIIA

Corinth, C. 34.289. Rectangular stamp. Loeschcke 3*b*(?).


L·TETTV/
SAAIA

Corinth, C. 36.144 (C. 34.1982?). Loeschcke 3*b*(?). With L. TETTVS.

L SARIVA

(Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 58.) Arretine?

L. S·RQ

Corinth, C. 36.152 and C. 36.143 (two fragments joined). In pl. pedis. Within small grooved circle. Form 33(?).


S·RIVÆ

Corinth, C. 34.1761. Double rectangular stamp. Similar to Loeschcke 3*b*(?).


S·RIV

Corinth, C. 34.1802. Double rectangular stamp. Loeschcke 3*b*(?)

. CL·S·R

Corinth, C. 36.1375. In pl. pedis. Five examples.

QCL·S·R

Corinth, C. 32.141. In pl. pedis. Cup.

SAVFEIVS

PHILOM
. AVFEI

Corinth, C. 36.139. Rectangular stamp. Conical cup. With PHILOMela.

CLITVS
SAVFE

Ephesus (Heberdey, *Ephesos*, I, p. 168). Rectangular stamp in two lines. Plate, unglazed below. With CLITVS.

KOCM
SAVFEI

Rome (Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 43). With KOCM(?).

L·S·C

Italian(?) (Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 56).

L·S·C

Corinth, C. 29.122. Rectangular stamp. Cup.

SECVNDINVS

. . IIDINI

Gaulish. Nero-Flavian(?) (Cf. Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 57.)

Alexandria. Museum No. 9082 = *QDAP*, VI, p. 32 [29].

SECVNDVS

Gaulish. La Graufesenque and Lezoux. Claudius-Flavian (Oswald and Pryce, p. 54; Comfort, *AJA*, XLI (1937), p. 406).

SECUNDI

Egypt. Form 27. Plain stamp with rounded ends. Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto: G. 4596 (Comfort, *loc. cit.*).

C. SEMPRONIVS

Arretine?

C. SEM

Corinth, C. 36.1502. Rectangular stamp.

Q·SEM

Corinth, C. 29.92. Rectangular stamp. Cup.

C. SENTIVS

Arretine. Augustan. (Cf. Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 57.)

C SEN

Corinth, Museum. Rectangular stamp. Dish.

K

- A. SESTIVS Arretine. Early Augustan (Comfort, *JAOS*, 58, p. 57).
- A. SESTI. DAMA Cos. Large plate in Erlangen (*Phil. Woch.*, 1938: No. 1, 1 Jan., col. 19). With DAMA.
- PHLOGEN Corinth (Museum). Rectangular stamp in two lines. Occurs twice
A. SESTI on very large plate, c. 0.90 m. diameter. With PHILOGENA.
- SESTI Corinth. Rectangular stamp (Comfort, *AJA*, XXXIII (1929),
DAMA p. 496 and Pl. VIII, 30). With DAMA.
- SEXTVS ANNIVS Arretine. Early Augustan.
-  Corinth, C. 36.728. Double rectangular stamp with herring-bone.
Large, heavy plate, with heavy foot-ring. Rouletted band and
grooved circles.
- SEX
ANNI Corinth, C. 36.1894. Rectangular stamp. Plate.
- SEX Beisān. Haltern Ia. Rectangular stamp with rounded ends.
ANNI University Museum, Philadelphia, No. 29-102-561 (Comfort
and Waagé, *QSt.*, 1936, p. 222 and Pl. I).
- SEXTVS
MALIVS Puteoli.
- SEX·M· Athens, Agora: P. 8893. Cup.
- ΣΠΟΡΟΣ Group i.
- POY Athens, Agora: P. 7584. Rectangular stamp. Dish with low
CΠO foot-ring.
- CΠO Corinth, C. 27.23a. Rectangular stamp. Flat plate with very
POY slight foot-ring. Very light creamy buff glaze ('bisque').
- ΣΠΟΡΟΥ Corinth, C. 36.2276. Rectangular stamp. Cup.
- POY Pompeii (Comfort, *JAOS*, 58, p. 45 and ref.).
CΠO
- SVAVIS Arretine. (Loeschcke, *Haltern*, p. 184 and Taf. XXIX, 235.)
- SWI Corinth, C. 29.90. Rectangular stamp with rounded corners. Cup.
LTIT With L. TITIVS.
- CAVI Corinth, C. 37.3208. Rectangular stamp with rounded ends. Dish.
- SVRISCVS (L. Noni) Arretine (Ohlenroth, *Italische Sigillata mit Auflagen aus Rätien
und dem römischen Germanien*, p. 241).
- SVRI Corinth, C. 35.59. Bowl. With RASINIVS.
RASI
66

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

CWCOC

Group i (?).

CWCQY

Corinth, C. 34.1817. In pl. pedis. Fragment of base of dish. Micaceous; glaze very worn; turning very broken and irregular below.

L. TARQUINIUS (?) Arretine?

L TAR

Corinth, C. 36.1939. Rectangular stamp. Large plate with large rectangular foot-ring.

L TARQ

Corinth, C. 29.53. Rectangular stamp. Loeschke 15a.

$\frac{1}{T} > \dots$ (?) TARΛ

Corinth, C. 28.23. Rectangular stamp in two lines. Dish.

L AR (?)

Corinth, C. 29.59. Rectangular stamp with convex ends.

ETAR

Corinth, C. 28.41. Rectangular stamp. Bowl.

L || AR ..

Corinth, C. 28.13. Rectangular stamp. Graffito on underside.

C. TELLIVS

Arretine (Ohlenroth, *Italische Sigillata mit Auflagen aus Rätien und dem römischen Germanien*, pp. 237, 240).

M PER

Corinth, C. 36.1506. Rectangular stamp with rounded corners.

C TELI

Dish. With M. PERENNIVS.

C. TETIVS (TETTIVS, TETTIVS) Arretine (Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 58).

C TETI PRIN

Corinth, C. 36.1606. Rectangular stamp in two lines. Shallow flat dish, resembling early Form 15. With PRINCEPS.

C TET... Corinth, C. 37.2116. Probably in pl. pedis. Cup.

L. TETTIVS (TETTIVS or TETIVS) Montans and La Graufesenque. Claudius-Nero (Oswald, *Index*).

.ETTI TO-

Athens, Agora: P. 9161 and P. 9166. Very large plate; stamp off centre.

TETTI RASIN

Corinth, C. 33.328. With RASINIVS.

L ETTI AQVTVS

Corinth, C. 36.138. Rectangular stamp; within small grooved circle. 17(?). With ACVTVS.

~~L ETTI~~ SALIA

Corinth, C. 36.144. Rectangular stamp, broken. Only partially glazed below.

L TETTI CRITO

Corinth, C. 36.137. Rectangular stamp. 46. With CRITO.



Athens, Agora: P. 9167. Double rectangular stamp. Plate or dish? Two fragments joining. TETTIVS and ? Off centre. Partially glazed below.



Corinth, C. 36.144 (C. 34.1982?). Large plate, heavy rectangular foot-ring. With SAMIA.

L·TETI
PHERO

Corinth, CP. 965. Rectangular stamp. Cup. With PHILEROS.

L·T·EI
.VS

Corinth, C. 37.2178. Rectangular stamp with rounded ends. Loeschcke 11 or 12? Unglazed below.

TETIVS (TETTVS, TETTIVS) Arretine.

IETT

Corinth, C. 34.2218. Rectangular stamp. Cup.

.CIMBE
.ETT

Corinth, C. 35.822. Rectangular stamp. Early 15/17. With C. IMBER.

THALAMVS

Puteoli (Oxé, *Germania*, 21 (1937), p. 137).

TELA

Alexandria (*Exp. von Sieglin*, II, 3, 106, 58; = *QDAP*, VI, p. 48 (45)).

HAI^H

Alexandria, 23/24 (Mus. No. 19180; = *QDAP*, VI, p. 35 (32)).

THYRSVS

With L. TITIVS.

ETITI
TYRSI

Athens, Agora: P. 9846. Double rectangular stamp. Large plate. Unglazed beneath (smears of glaze only). On interior, grooved circles enclosing rouletted band.

L·TITI·TY

Corinth, C. 28.17. Rectangular stamp. Large plate; very brilliant glaze.

TIGRANVS

Arretine. Augustan (Oswald and Pryce, pp. 5-7).

TIGRA

Corinth, Museum. Rectangular stamp. Exterior of decorated bowl.

M·PERE!...
TICRA!.....

Corinth, C. 36.1917. Rectangular stamp. 16(?). With M. PERENNIVS.

A. TITIVS

A·TITI

Corinth, CP. 984. Rectangular stamp; off centre. Large plate.

A·TITI
<<<<<<

Corinth, C. 28.30. Rectangular stamp. Dish.

C·TITIVS

C·TITI
HERM

Ephesus (Heberdey, *Ephesos*, I, p. 169). Rectangular stamp in two lines. Cup. With HERMA.

L. TITIVS

.L·TI

Athens, Agora: P. 8527. Swallow-tail stamp? Form 33(?).

ETITI
TYRSI

Athens, Agora: P. 9846. Double rectangular stamp. Large plate; unglazed beneath (smears of glaze only). On interior, grooved circles enclosing rouletted band. With THYRSVS.

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

- L·TI Corinth, C. 36.1477. In pl. pedis. Bowl.
- L·TITI·TY Corinth, C. 28.17. Rectangular stamp. Large plate; very brilliant glaze. With THYRSVS.
- L TTI Corinth, C. 29.111. Rectangular stamp. Cup.
- SWI Corinth, C. 29.90. Rectangular stamp with rounded corners. Cup.
- L TIT With SVAVIS.
- L TI!... Corinth, C. 29.81. Rectangular stamp. Form 33(?).
- L !!!!! Corinth, C. 34.2010. Rectangular stamp.
- CRESTIO Corinth, CP. 1538. Rectangular stamp. Form 33(?). With
 <----->
 L·TITI ↓ C.CRESTVS.
- L TITI Corinth, CP. 1540. Rectangular stamp. Cup.
- TITIVS Arretine.
- TIT Corinth, C. 34.155. Dish.
- PRINCE Cyprus: Nikosia Museum D. 88 (1935). Rectangular stamp.
- PS·TITI Dish with vertical walls. Salamis (Comfort, *J.AOS*, 58, p. 58, etc.). With PRINCEPS.
- L ATEI Corinth, C. 30.90 Rectangular stamp with rounded corners.
TITT Ritterling 9. With L. ATEIVS.
- TITOS Group i ('Samian').
- TITLY ? From Cyprus. Loeschke 15a. St. Germain-en-Laye, No. 22250. Bought in sale at Hôtel Drouot.
- TYXH Group i. Comfort, *J.AOS*, 58, p. 45.
- TY Athens, Agora: P. 3770. Square stamp; in rouletted circle
- XH enclosed by grooves. Flat dish; very low foot-ring.
- TYXH Samos. In pl. pedis to l. (Technau, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIV (1929), p. 63).
- S. V.
- S·V· Ephesus. In pl. pedis. Dish (Heberdey, *Ephesos*, I, p. 169).
- L. V. FI Italian (Comfort, *J.AOS*, 58, p. 59).
- L V·FI Corfu. Form 1. In pl. pedis. British Museum L. 3 (Walters, *Cat. of Roman Pottery in B.M.*, p. 13).
- P. VEGILANTIOC
- P·VECILI Athens (Comfort, *J.AOS*, 58, p. 59 and ref.).
 ANTIOC
- C. VEIANUS Arretine. Nero-Flavian (Ohlenroth, *Italische Sigillata mit Auflagen aus Rätien und dem römischen Germanien*, p. 241).
- VEIAN Corinth, C. 33.335. In pl. pedis. Bowl.

J. H. ILIFFE

VEIAN	Corinth, C. 33.290. In pl. pedis. Bowl.
VEIAIAN	Corinth, C. 34.292. In pl. pedis.
VEIAN	Corinth, C. 34.1906. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8.
C·VEI ◀◀◀◀	Corinth, C. 38.520. Rectangular stamp in two lines: herring-bone in lower.
VEIAN	Corinth, C. 32.172. In pl. pedis. Bowl.
...AIAN	Corinth, C. 34.1629. In pl. pedis. Fragment of flat plate.

VETTIVS (VEIVS (?)) Arretine.

..□VEΠ	Corinth, C. 33.320. In pl. pedis.
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C. VIBIVS

€ VIB	Corinth, C. 36.3. Rectangular stamp. Form 33.
C· VBE	Corinth, C. 36.153. In pl. pedis. Loeschcke 8 A b. (Cf. esp. <i>CIL</i> , IX. 6082, 95, quoted in Comfort, <i>Memoirs</i> , p. 214, 151.)
€ VIB!	Athens, Agora: P. 7272. In pl. pedis. Bowl.
€ VIBI	Athens, Agora: P. 7395. In pl. pedis. Loeschcke, Type 8 A b.
	Athens, Agora: P. 12014. Circular stamp. Within groove. Fragment of flat plate. Unglazed below.
C· VI.....	Corinth, C. 34.2358 B. Rectangular stamp. Flat plate with tall foot-ring.
C· V. I	Corinth, C. 36.1961. Elliptical stamp. Loeschcke 8 A b or 9.
..V! IH	Corinth, C. 33.1379. In pl. pedis.
C· VBI	Corinth, C. 36.1485. Lozenge-shaped stamp. Dish.

VILLIVS

VILLI	Arretine (Comfort, <i>Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome</i> , VII, p. 214). Cyprus: Nikosia Museum D. 665 (1935). In pl. pedis. Within rouletted circle enclosed by grooves. Ritterling 9. Double spiral <i>appliqué</i> at either side (Comfort, <i>J.AOS</i> , 58, p. 59, etc.).
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SEXTVS VILLIVS

SEX·UIL	Arretine (Comfort, <i>Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome</i> , VII, p. 214; Ihm, ad <i>CIL</i> , XI. 6700, 786: 'VILLIVS fortasse non est diversus a SEXTO VILLIO'). Corinth, C. 29.103. Rectangular stamp. Form 33 (?).
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VITALIS

OF VII....	Gaulish: La Graufesenque; Claudius-Flavian (Comfort, <i>J.AOS</i> , 58, p. 59; Oswald and Pryce, p. 55). Cyprus: Nikosia Museum (uncatalogued). Interior base of form 37 (fragmentary). Apparently rectangular stamp.
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SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

- VITALII Egypt. Form 27. Plain stamp with rounded ends. Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto: G. 4620 (Comfort, *AJA*, XLI (1937), p. 406).
- L. VMBRICIVS Arretine. (Cf. Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 59; *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, p. 215).
- W I B Athens, Agora: 476 = SS 7. Tiny dish. *QDAP*, VI, p. 49 (46).
- L W I . . Athens, Agora: P. 1487. Form 33 or similar. *QDAP*, VI, p. 49 (46).
- W B Corinth, C. 33.179. In pl. pedis.
- FLC Corinth, C. 34.256. Small conical cup; foot-ring. With PHILO-
VMBRI GENA.
- W B Corinth, C. 34.252. Flat plate fragment.
- AB W Corinth, C. 36.145. In pl. pedis, *retro*. Fragment of flat base.
- V B Corinth, C. 37.2150. In pl. pedis. Form 18.
- AWR Corinth, C. 36.154. In pl. pedis.
- C. VOLVSENVS
- . . VO E Corinth, C. 34.119. In pl. pedis. Dish.
- C VOL Corinth, C. 28.43. Rectangular stamp with rounded ends within
VSEN a circle. Cup.
- L. VRBANVS
- C VRB Puteoli (Oxé, *Germania*, Anzeiger, 21 (1937), p. 137).
- Athens, Agora: P. 644. Emended by Oxé, from COSIVS and
VRAPPVS (*QDAP*, VI., p. 50 (47); Oxé, *loc. cit.*). Ritterling 5.
- ΦΙΑΗΤΟΣ Group i.
- ΙΑΗ Athens, Agora: P. 3673. Small cup. *QDAP*, VI, p. 36 (33).
- ΤΟΥ Corinth, (1) C. 36.473. Rectangular stamp. Dish; (2) C. 36.1.
Rectangular stamp. Rounded bowl. Orange-yellow glaze.
- ΙΑΔΟ Corinth, C. 37.2387. Irregular rectangular stamp. Cup. With
ΠΟΝ.
- ΦΟΙΒΟΣ
- ΦΟΙ Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 179). Also at Aquileia (Comfort,
BOV *JAS*, 58, p. 45).
- ΦΥΡΜΟC
- ΦΥΡΜΟC Pompeii. Incised, not stamped (Comfort, *JAS*, 58, p. 45 and ref.).
- ΧΑΡΑ
- ΧΑΡΑ Alishar (*The Alishar Hüyük*, by H. H. von der Osten and others,
Part III, p. 82).

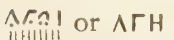
<u>XAPIC</u>	Groups i, ii, and (?) iii. (Cf. Comfort, <i>JAOs</i> , 58, pp. 45-6.)
X A	Dura Europos, 1937: K. 366. Fragment of flat base of dish or
PIC	cup, cut out for a counter.
XAPICC	Dura Europos, 1937.
X A	Athens, Agora: P. 9168. In Greek cross.
P I C	
XAPIC	Corinth, C. 36.197. Swallow-tail stamp. Group ii. Sharply carinated small dish. Very hard creamy-white clay.
X A	Corinth, C. 28.18. Square stamp within a circle. Well-turned pedestal foot of typical small cup of Group i; micaceous, light orange 'firm' glaze.
PIS	
X A	Ephesus. Five times. Square stamp with rounded corners (Heberdey, <i>Ephesos</i> , I, p. 173).
PIS	
XAPIC	Ephesus. Rectangular stamp. Dish (Heberdey, <i>loc. cit.</i>).
X (?)	Ephesus. Rectangular stamp. Cup (Heberdey, <i>loc. cit.</i>). Also at Miletopolis, Kertch and Pergamon (Comfort, <i>loc. cit.</i>).
P (?)	
<u>XKVIOS</u> (?)	Gaulish (?).
XKV	Provenance unknown. Form 27. (Walters, <i>Cat. of Rom. Pottery in BM.</i> , L. 137.)
IOS (?)	
<u>XANTHVS</u>	Arretine (Walters, <i>Cat. of Roman Pottery in B.M.</i> , p. 18; Comfort, <i>JAOs</i> , 58, p. 59).
XAVHI	Naukratis. Bowl. Elliptical stamp. British Museum, L. 42 (Walters, <i>loc. cit.</i> , p. 18).
<u>ZOILVS</u>	
ξ O II	Corinth, C. 36.278. In pl. pedis. Carinated dish; high foot-ring.
ZOI	Corinth, C. 29.97. Rectangular stamp. Cup.
<u>ΩΡΑΙΟΣ</u> (ΟΡΕΙΟΣ etc.)	Group i (Comfort, <i>JAOs</i> , 58, p. 46).
ΩPH	Corinth, (1) C. 33.186. Bowl with no foot-ring; (2) C. 34.400. Flat-based dish. No foot-ring; (3) C. 29.119. Rectangular stamp. Tiny cup, with pedestal foot. Group i.
OY	
OPH	Corinth, (1) C. 34.235. Black glaze. Within rouletted band enclosed by two grooved circles, and a further grooved circle. Rounded bowl with tiny foot-ring; (2) C. 35.28. Fine, small, rounded cup; well-turned foot-ring; (3) C. 36.160. Rectangular stamp. Within grooved circles and rouletted band. Orange-yellow glaze; (4) Corinth Museum. Rectangular stamp. Small cup; (5) C. 37.1594. Rectangular stamp. Tiny cup. Group i; (6) C. 36.1482. Rectangular stamp. Tiny cup. Group i.
OY	

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

ΩPH	Athens, Agora: P. 5758. Rectangular stamp. Small bowl.
ΟΥ	Finely turned foot-ring.
ΟPH	Ephesus. Bowl. Square stamp (Heberdey, <i>Ephesos</i> , I, p. 172).
ΟΥ	

Illegible or Uncertain Stamps

	Corinth, C. 33.166. Black glazed bowl.
...VP-P	Corinth, C. 34.272. In pl. pedis. Cup.
	Corinth, C. 34.229. Yellow marbled ware; hard red paste. Dish, with high, angular foot-ring. Form 15/17?
ΟΡΚΟΙ	Corinth, C. 34.216. In pl. pedis. Arretine? Plate.
	Corinth, C. 36.135. In pl. pedis? VEIANVS?? Dish on foot-ring.
.....I	Corinth, C. 36.518. In pl. pedis. Bowl. Arretine?
XXX	Corinth, C. 36.185. In pl. pedis. Tiny rounded cup, not glazed below. Very low foot-ring. Orange glaze resembling Group i.
	Corinth, C. 36.34. ?Group i. Small dish with curved walls; plain countersunk base. Rectangular stamp.
CO...AM	Athens, Agora: P. 9169. In pl. pedis. Small conical cup. Low foot-ring.
	Athens, Agora: P. 6886. In three-lobed stamp. ?Arretine. Cup.
...V	Athens, Agora: P. 7270. Ritterling 5 or similar. ?Arretine. (Graffito on underside: φ and κ.)
	Athens, Agora: P. 7991. ?Fish-form stamp. Orange-red glaze; pinkish-brown clay.
	Athens, Agora: P. 5713. FEICIT. ?Bowl or cantharus on pedestal foot. ?Arretine.
	Athens, Agora: P. 6895. Cup on pedestal foot. Arretine.
..*!MAM	Athens, Agora: P. 3755. In pl. pedis. Within small grooved circle. Arretine?
	Athens, Agora: P. 3670. In pl. pedis, retro(?). Plate, unglazed below.
	Athens, Agora: P. 6715. Cup. Arretine?
L K J'	Athens, Agora: P. 9170. In pl. pedis. Arretine.
	Athens, Agora: P. 5740. Plate. Swallow-tail stamp.

-  Athens, Agora: P. 5846. Swallow-tail stamp within grooved circle. Plate. Black to red glaze.
- K Athens, Agora: P. 8673. Arretine. In pl. pedis. Form 33.
-  or AΓH? Athens, Agora: P. 3820. Rectangular stamp. Group i.
-  Athens, Agora: P. 10847. Hellenistic ('from a Hellenistic house'). Base with coarse brownish glaze on inside, none below.
- ΛW Corinth, C. 36.1333. Rectangular stamp with rounded (convex) ends. Large plate. Arretine.
- I.VI. Corinth, C. 33.172. Dish, black glaze on interior and beneath base; red on outside of body. Buff paste.
-  Corinth, C. 33.1343. In pl. pedis. Ritterling 8 (?).
-  Corinth, C. 36.1513. Dish with vertical wall, incurving at top.
- . . . IV Corinth, C. 36.15. Rectangular stamp. Black glazed dish. Everted sloping sides and collar neck.
- V.V. Corinth, C. 37.1517. Swallow-tail stamp. No glaze; grey clay.
- IV Corinth, C. 33.166. Swallow-tail stamp. Pedestal base.
-  Corinth, C. 36.1676. Ritterling 5. Arretine?
- ALVP Corinth, C. 34.2165. In pl. pedis. Cup.
-  Corinth, C. 36.1211. Cup. Arretine?
-  Corinth, C. 36.2210. Rectangular stamp.
- II/I Corinth, C. 29.108. Swallow-tail stamp. Small conical bowl.
- II/I Corinth, C. 29.100. Swallow-tail stamp. Small conical bowl.
- IV.I Corinth, C. 29.107. Swallow-tail stamp. Small conical bowl.
- I%V% Corinth, C. 29.109. Swallow-tail stamp.
- W Corinth, C. 29.65. Swallow-tail stamp. Blackish-brown glaze internally and in part below.
- Λ.V. Corinth, C. 29.95. Swallow-tail stamp. Black glaze.
-  Corinth, C. 36.1759. Swallow-tail stamp.
-  Corinth, C. 29.102. Rectangular stamp, divided into two squares. Arretine?
-  Corinth, C. 29.105. In pl. pedis, *retro*. Arretine?
- V.V. Corinth, C. 37.1517. Swallow-tail stamp. Greyish-white ware; no glaze (or worn away).
- L. L. . . . Corinth, C. 29.125. Rectangular stamp. L. GELLIVS, L. TITIVS? Cup. Arretine.

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II

...IA	Corinth, C. 23.26. In pl. pedis. Arretine?
PLSFL̄E	Corinth, C. 29.12. In pl. pedis. Dish. ?Arretine.
Λ///	Corinth, C. 29.64. Rectangular stamp. Dish. Glaze partly blackened inside; red elsewhere. Group ii or iii?
..R	Corinth, CP. 1578. In pl. pedis. Dish.
...L	Corinth, CP. 1562. Rectangular stamp. Cup.
∇/Λ	Corinth, CP. 1564. Swallow-tail stamp. Cup; well-turned base.
∇∇	Corinth, CP. 1621. Swallow-tail stamp. Dish. Pale creamy buff ware. ?Group ii.
Λ∇	Corinth, CP. 1003. Swallow-tail stamp. Dish with flaring walls. Carinated. Black glaze.
ΛΛΛ'	Corinth, CP. 1563. Swallow-tail stamp. Heavy conical cup. Group ii or iii?
.INPCTSAV	Corinth, CP. 1559. In pl. pedis. ?Italian.
XIIIX	Egypt. Plain stamp with rounded ends. Gaulish. Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto: G. 4586 (Comfort, <i>AJA</i> , XLI (1937), pp. 406-7).
...TONOC	Priene (Wiegand and Schrader, <i>Priene</i> , p. 431, 122).
...HΛOY	Mont Beuvray (Bibracte). A vessel in the style of ACO (Comfort, <i>JAOs</i> , 58, p. 46).
..ΛΛONCT	Dura Europos.

Symbols



Athens, Agora: P. 6606. Plate; within double and triple circles.



Corinth, C. 33.182. Planta pedis only. Black glaze. Buff paste.



Corinth, C. 34.193. Rosette stamp. Ritterling 5.



Corinth, C. 36.187. Group i. Tiny cup with vertical walls.



Athens, Agora: P. 9861. Bowl with flat base and incurving rim. Group i or Arretine?



Athens, Agora: P. 9860. Deep bowl with straight sides. Group i or Arretine?



Athens, Agora: P. 9866. Dish with low vertical rim and low foot-ring. Group i or Arretine? (Cf. Comfort, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, p. 218, 182.)



Athens, Agora: P. 9857. Form 35. (Cf. Comfort, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, VII, p. 218, 181 and 183.)

SIGILLATA WARES IN THE NEAR EAST. II



Athens, Agora: P. 7951. Amphora and caduceus. 46. Circular groove on interior.



Athens, Agora: P. 9858. Plain 'planta pedis' stamp, within rouletted circle. Shallow dish. 'Kleinasiatisch'?



Athens, Agora: P. 8115. Rosette only. Cup on low foot-ring. Group i?



Athens, Agora: P. 9871. Within two groups of three concentric grooves each.



Athens, Agora: P. 10055. Group i. Loeschcke 8 Ab.



Athens, Agora: P. 8674. Black glazed dish with high foot-ring.



Athens, Agora: P. 11541. Well-turned pedestal foot of vase, conical beneath. Buff clay, orange glaze.



Corinth, C. 29.113. Ritterling 8. Circular stamp. Italian.



Corinth, C. 36.1349. Plain 'planta pedis' stamp; no name. Dish with black glaze.



Corinth, C. 34.1775. Plain 'planta pedis' stamp; no name. Red glaze. Lumpish rough base; creamy brown clay.



Corinth, C. 34.1669. Plain 'planta pedis' stamp with no name. Rounded and carinated bowl; brownish black glaze.



Corinth, C. 37.2118. Dolphin, head down, within grooved circle. Black glaze. Dish.



Corinth, C. 36.1312. Tall dish. Black glaze.

J. H. ILIFFE.

EVLIYA TSHELEBI'S TRAVELS IN PALESTINE. VI¹

DESCRIPTION OF THE GRAND MOSQUE EL-AQŞA (*al-Masjidu-l-Aqşa*)

DAVID is supposed to have begun the building. The cause of its construction was that during the time of David a plague broke out among the Children of Israel, for the passing of which David prayed. When it had subsided, the *Masjidu-l-Aqşa* was built on the site of David's prayer. Before its completion, however, David passed away, and Solomon carried on the construction. Having raised the foundations to the height of a man, David died in peace, after having subdued Goliath. Thus the kingdom was taken over by Solomon. He was lord over all creatures and ordered the (evil) spirits to build this mosque el-Aqşa. fo. 90^v l. 25

After a long period it was completed. On that very day Solomon was leaning on his royal staff whilst watching the finishing of the mosque. Yet the divine order came forth: 'Return to thy lord',² and his noble soul ascended to heaven, whilst his body was still leaning on the staff. No creature whatever knew of this. Yet during the ritual cleaning of the mosque el-Aqşa, Āşif Berakhya,³ a wise man of Solomon, his vizier and Keeper of the Privy Seal, used to dismiss all spirits and fairies before sunset from their daily work, and at the end of it he would imprison them all in the old prison⁴ situated in the moat outside the Damascus Gate. This he did by means of a talisman. In course of time they all perished. Even nowadays one may witness their skeletons there. It is a very dark place; one shudders on looking into it. fo. 90^v l. 30

Later on a worm was hollowing the staff of Solomon, who thus fell to the ground. All learned men agree that, according to holy writ, he was buried beside his father David.

Then a divine order⁵ turned the mosque el-Aqşa into a *qibla*. Many kings followed. Each built an annex to the mosque so that it became as beautiful as Paradise. fo. 90^v l. 35

When the Prophet had spent ten years in Medina after his *hijra*, he received the order, 'Turn thy face towards the Noble Sanctuary' (Sūra ii, 144 and 145), whereupon the *qibla* was changed from Jerusalem to Mecca. Nevertheless it was with reference to Jerusalem that the verse was sent down: 'Let them go

¹ Continued from Vol. VIII, p. 137.

² Sūra lxxxix, 28.

³ This vizier plays an important role in folk-lore; cf. the Story of the Fisherman and the Ghost, *Arabian Nights*, Vol. I, p. 21 (Beirut ed.).

⁴ The so-called Cotton Grotto, the Royal Caves of Josephus. Cf. also Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, I, pp. 239 ff.

⁵ Sūra ii, 144 and 145.

around the most ancient House' (Sūra xxii, 30). At present this mosque is the Ka'aba of the mystics.

It is a large, serene mosque, measuring exactly three hundred paces from the South Gate¹ to the prayer-niche. Its width from the prayer-niche of 'Umar fo. 90^v in the East to the corner of the *miḥrāb* of the Mālikites is four hundred paces. l. 40^o Altogether it has seventy large and small columns of exquisite shape, of sumac-red and other colours. Each column is a jewel in itself, worth the 'treasure of Egypt'.

Both aisles of the mosque are later additions; they rest on piers while the dome rises on massive arches.

The building is in tiers, one above the other, with arches above the strong pillars. Over them rests the throne-like roof with a wooden ceiling, on twenty beams of cypress wood, painted in various colours—a marvellous sight.

The rotunda rises forty ells from the floor. The buildings beside it are twenty ells high. From within, the mosque rests on one hundred and twenty arches, both large and small. The dome over the prayer-niche is the highest part of the building. It is serene and is unequalled on earth. Its height is fifty ells, being the king of all domes around. It is not spheric like other domes but elliptic.

Inside it is embellished with gilt glass-mosaic designs in iridescent colours representing the Paradise cypress tree (*tūba*) and the blossoms of fruit-trees. It is a rotunda of 'light above light' (Sūra xxiv, 35). Round it the verse is inscribed: 'Allah is the Light of Heaven and Earth' (Sūra xxiv, 35). It was restored by Suleiman Khān. Prayer-niche and pulpit cannot adequately be described by words of mouth, as they are beyond description and definition.

fo. 91^r True, the *minbar* is of wood, yet, in order to show his skill, the accomplished l. 1 master has made the pulpit as if it were the work of witchcraft. As to the *miḥrāb* it is profusely gilded, as if it were a lapis-lazuli enamel work studded with jewels. Whatever of precious metals or stones is known on earth has been inserted, in the size of a bird's eye, by the accomplished master into that prayer-niche, so that it has become a prototype of a prayer-niche of indescribable beauty.

Having considered the construction of the prayer-niche, the pulpit, and the dome, Suleiman Khān selected from personal acquaintance the gifted master, the glass-mosaicist, the Drunkard 'Abdullah (*Serkhosh 'Abdo*), who has performed marvels in this prayer-niche of the Noble Mosque, by using twelve fo. 91^r kinds of glass of different fine and iridescent colours, so much so that the l. 5 reflected rays, falling on the ground, lighten the entire mosque and fill the

¹ Here and elsewhere the author confuses the north with the south.

whole large congregation with light and meditation, inspiring them to reverent submissive prayers.

Besides the glass panes of twelve colours already mentioned there are one hundred and five glass panes in all, crystals, rock-crystals, and violet-coloured glass included.

To the right and left of the prayer-niche panels of choice timber¹ are set into the wall, each measuring three feet and painted with masterly skill in rainbow colours. They are encased with marble. The more one looks attentively at them, the more one admires them, as if one were perceiving God's work, so nicely polished and embellished are these large marble flags.

There are seven windows in this wall on both sides of the *mihrāb*, overlooking it.²

Facing the pulpit is the place for the *muezzins*,³ rising on twelve well-balanced slender tiny pillars, like a pavilion. There is also the 'Seat of Solomon'⁴ and a chair for the preacher. The accomplished master has embellished it artistically and made it a gorgeous sight for ennobling purposes.

The silk prayer-carpet in this mosque is marvellous. They are Anatolian, Arabic and Persian, and no carpets of other mosques could equal them in beauty.

About one thousand costly and artistic pendants hang from the ceiling, besides seven thousand small oil lamps.⁵ Every night about a thousand lamps are lit, and during the *lailatu-l-qadr* all are lit,⁶ so that the interior of the mosque, already luminous, becomes 'light on light', whilst the outside of it is also bathed in light.

The mosque has in all ten gates, seven of which open to the south. The central gate rises to a height of fifteen ells. It is of ancient make and of enamelled brass.⁷ On either side of it are three others, master-works and worth while seeing.

To the left is the Gate of el-Khidr,⁸ whilst to the right is that of the Mālikites. fo. 91^r
l. 15

¹ This panel is not of choice timber, but a marble plaque richly adorned with geometrical designs; other slabs around are beautifully veined.

² These windows do not strictly overlook the prayer-niche.

³ The place opposite the pulpit is reserved for the *muballigh* and not for the *muezzin*.

⁴ No dais or platform or seat in the Aqşa carries nowadays the name of Solomon.

⁵ The number of lamps hanging now in the Aqşa is stated by the Guardians of the Sanctuary to be four thousand. Electric light has been installed for the precincts only.

⁶ The 'blessed night' of the 27th Ramaḍān, mentioned in Sūra xcvi.

⁷ The gates of the mosque are of brass, but painted over in parts. No trace of the enamel mentioned can now be seen.

⁸ This Gate of el-Khidr (Khaḍr, Khizrillez, el-Khaḍr Ilyās) has no legends attached to it similar to that connected with the room reserved or dedicated to the Prophet Elijah in the Synagogue of Yōḥanan ben Zaccai in the old city.

Behind the pulpit is the entrance to a *madrasa*.¹ Outside the south gates there are vaults over six piers, and the vestibule.

VISIT TO THE MOSQUE EL-AQṢA²

First, in the east corner is the prayer-niche of 'Umar.³ After the conquest he performed his prayers there during a whole week. Next to it comes the *miḥrāb* of David, where prayers used to be offered whilst the foundations were dug. To the left of it are Qur'ānic verses written evenly in Cufic characters by the Caliph 'Uthmān. It seems as if these verses were written by the Almighty Hand.⁴

To the right of the pulpit is the Shrine of Jesus,⁵ a praying-place behind an artistic grill. It has a separate entrance.

The Shrine of el-Khiḍr is at the left gate of the mosque. Thank God I have visited all of them and offered at each two prostrations humbly beseeching
fo. 91^r God through their intercession.

l. 20 There are eight hundred salaried servants employed at this mosque el-Aqṣa. That is to say it has *imāms* for the four 'schools' and as many preachers. On Fridays the preacher ascends the pulpit with the sword in his hand.⁶ The 'split'

¹ The *madrasa* is about fifty yards off and at the extreme south-western corner of the Ḥaram enclosure. Its former name, *el-Madrasa-l-Bakriyya* has been substituted by that of *el-fakhriyya*, or *Zāwiyet Abu-s-Su'ūd*. At present it is the property of the well-known family of *Abu-s-Su'ūd*, a member of which was the hereditary holder of the title *sheikhu-l-mashāyikh* among dervish fraternities in Jerusalem. Since c. 1876 the title is no more hereditary. The once large and famous library has been split up among the various branches of the family.

² This is the religious 'visit of a pilgrim'.

³ The mosque built by 'Umar after taking over the Temple Area was to the south-east of the structure of the Dome of the Rock and not in the Aqṣa Mosque, where it is nowadays shown.

⁴ These Qur'ānic verses were probably those written during the reconstruction of the mosque under the Ayyūbids. They are really beautiful and artistic, the writing being in glass mosaic with gilt border lines embellished by vine-leaves and scrolls. They are on the wall to the right of the *miḥrāb* of the Aqṣa Mosque.

⁵ This Shrine of Jesus is only one part of the Refectory of the Templars. Its eastern section serves now as mosque for the women; the grill, dating from the time of the Latin Kingdom, separates this mosque from the body of el-Aqṣa. During prayers curtains are drawn in front of the grill. The western part of this hall served as a mosque for the Maghribis till in 1927 it was converted into a Museum attached to the mosque.

⁶ Although it is well known that a preacher should lean during his *khuṭba* on a sword in towns which had been conquered, yet, as Jerusalem surrendered under a treaty, the preacher is supposed to lean on a staff while delivering his Friday sermon from the pulpit. He wears a green silk garb and red leather sandals. Towns in Palestine where the preacher holds a sword are Nāblus, Jaffa, Gaza, Nazareth, Acre, and Hebron. Not even the fact that Saladin reconquered Jerusalem from the Crusaders has been taken by the succeeding *khaṭībs* as a pretext to hold the sword during the *khuṭba*. Accordingly, the *khaṭībs* in Damascus hold the wooden sword in those mosques lying in the quarters which had been taken by the Moslem armies, and the staff in mosques situated in the eastern

sword is that of 'Umar.¹ Each preacher is on duty for a week. There are altogether fifty *muezzins*,² reciters of litanies,³ 'transmitters',⁴ other readers,^{5, 6} and reciters,⁷ as well as guardians.⁸

All these offices are paid from the private purse of the Sultan;⁹ the private treasurer comes year by year to distribute to them these gifts and presents.

The dome of the Mosque el-Aqşa is wholly covered with lead. The vaults are inside richly gilt with ornaments to the height of a man, thus puzzling the onlooker by their splendour.

And that is all.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MOSQUE OF THE ROCK OF ALLAH¹⁰

fo. 91^r

This Mosque of the Rock of Allah (*ṣakhratu-llāh*) lies to the north of the Aqşa Mosque already mentioned. From this latter mosque one goes through a meadow over (a pavement of) two hundred paces of white unhewn marble flagstones, laid out by order of Sultan Suleiman (the Magnificent). Thence one directs one's steps to the huge marble water-basin,¹¹ made of a single block according to Sultan Suleiman's own directions¹² . . . a monument unequalled

l. 25

quarters of the town, where the inhabitants had surrendered them at the time of the siege of Damascus, September 635. The office of preacher is hereditary. The present holders are of the Jamā', a clan of the Kināna tribe, from which the Quraish descended. During the Friday sermon (*khutba*) the preacher is clad in a green coat, wearing a pair of red sandals (*khuff*), and—in the case of a sermon held in the Aqşa Mosque—has beside him the banner of the Nebī Dā'ūd on his right-hand side, and that of the Aqşa Mosque on his left, both placed against the posts of the pulpit.

¹ This 'split' sword is Dhū-l-fiqār, owned by 'Alī. Both names occur very often in magic texts in this formula: *lā fata(n) illa 'Aliyy lā saifa illa Dhū-l-fiqār* (there is no 'knight' except 'Alī, there is no sword but Dhū-l-fiqār). It was presented to him by the Prophet himself.

² This number has been reduced; at present there are only twelve.

³ *musebbih*, *muezzins* for the Haram.

⁴ *mu'arrif*. This is an inferior functionary in a large mosque, who acts during prayer time as a sort of chorister. During Friday prayer at noon it is the custom in Jerusalem for the *mu'arrif* or *muballigh* to occupy the 'summer pulpit' of the Qādī Burhānu-d-Dīn b. Jamā'a (south-west of the Dome of the Rock, on the platform). He repeats the injunction of the Imām in the Aqşa Mosque to the congregation in the Dome of the Rock (concerning prostration, &c., to which fourteen verses refer in the Qur'ān). The present-day *mu'arrif* (*muballigh*) is Sheikh Maḥmūd ed-Danafī el-Anṣārī, who has inherited his post. Most of the posts attached to this Sanctuary are hereditary.

⁵ *Na'ti-kh(w)ān*; who recites the 'beautiful names of God'.

⁶ *Devri-kh(w)ān*, reciter of antiphons (?) or one of several reciters of a large section of the Qur'ān.

⁷ *Ejza-kh(w)ān*: Reciters of one of the thirty parts of the Qur'ān.

⁸ *qayyimān*. These are called in Arabic *sadana* (pl. of *sādīn*). This title applies to those in Jerusalem as well as in Mecca, Medina (and Hebron), to show their hereditary attachment to the respective sanctuaries. They used to be appointed or confirmed in their offices by royal rescripts.

⁹ They are paid nowadays from the revenues of the Awqāf, according to *berāwāt* issued to them (or their predecessors and the heirs of these by the Turkish sultans).

¹⁰ This term is no more in use; the Sanctuary is called simply that of the 'Rock' (*eṣ-ṣakhra*).

¹¹ Known for generations as *el-Kās* (the Cup).

¹² The text is not clear.

(for beauty) on earth. It is exquisite and occupies the centre of the platform. On passing it in a northerly direction one comes after about twelve paces to a flight of steps leading to the Dome of the Rock. These steps are twenty-two in number and are of white marble. Their width is twenty ells, so that a thousand persons could ascend them without crowding. From the top of this flight of steps one beholds the Holy Rock. The Dome over it is a palace constructed in the very centre of the Sanctuary and covered with white polished marble. One is struck dumb at the very sight of it. When beholding it¹ this
 fo. 91^r prayer is offered: 'O God, let there be light in my heart, and in my eye and
 l. 30^r in my ear. Give me (inward) light by your compassion, O most kind and merciful One.'

Coming from the direction of the Aqşa Mosque one sees a pulpit opposite the southern gate of the Dome of the Rock.² There the pilgrims take their shoes in their hands and walk barefoot for a hundred paces over the white marble flagstones of the Sanctuary, until they arrive at the Gate of the Mosque of the Rock of Allah. Here they leave their shoes in the custody of the door-keepers and start their visit.

It was 'Abdu-l-Malik b. Marwān who in [A.H. 72]³ first started the construction of this Dome of the Rock. Since it is the former *qibla* many kings and sultans after him built annexes to it, embellishing it wonderfully and making it a most serene place.

In the year [A.H. 926]⁴ Sultan Suleiman (the Magnificent) acceded to the throne, conquered the fortress of Belgrade and later on the island(s) of Rhodes and Malta (!) and accumulated thereby immense wealth. When he became an independent (!) king, the Prophet appeared to him in a 'blessed night'⁵ and
 fo. 91^r told him: 'O Suleiman, you will attain the age of forty-eight⁶ and will make
 l. 35 many conquests. Your offspring will not die out till the end of time. My kindness will be always extended to you. You should spend these spoils on embellishing Mecca and Medina, and for the fortification of the citadel of Jerusalem, in order to repulse the unbelievers, when they attempt to take possession of Jerusalem during the reigns of your followers. You should also embellish its Sanctuary with a water-basin and offer annual money gifts to the dervishes there, and also embellish the Rock of Allah and rebuild Jerusalem.'

¹ The Rock is not visible, although the grill and the columns before it are easily discernible.

² This is the so-called summer pulpit of the Qāḍī Burhānu-d-Dīn b. Jamā'a (A.H. 780-839 = A.D. 1378-1436), whose descendants still enjoy some inherited prerogatives in the Ḥaram.

³ A.D. 691. Not mentioned in manuscript.

⁴ A.H. 926 (A.D. 1520). Not mentioned in manuscript.

⁵ There are eight 'blessed' nights, of which that of the 27th Ramaḍān (*lailatu-l-qadr*) is the best known.

⁶ Suleiman I, the Magnificent, reigned for forty-eight lunar years.

Such being the order of the Prophet, Suleiman Khān at once rose from his sleep and sent from his spoils one thousand purses (*kissé*)¹ to Medina and another thousand purses to Jerusalem. Together with the required material he dispatched the master architect Qoja Sinān² to Jerusalem, and transferred Lalé Mustafa Pasha³ from the governorship of Egypt to that of Syria.^{fo. 91^r l. 40}

[This latter] having been ordered to carry out the restoration of Jerusalem, gathered all the master builders, architects, and sculptors available in Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo and sent them to Jerusalem to rebuild it and to embellish the Holy Rock, so much so that the verse 'These are the Gardens of Eden . . . enter ye them . . .'⁴ was justly written on the Gate of Paradise⁵ in the Dome of the Rock. Verily, it is a replica of a heavenly palace.

During these thirty-eight years whilst I travelled through seventeen countries, this site stands unique amongst the buildings I have seen, as if it were one of the eight Paradises.⁶ Man stands dazed at the sight of it and the mind is carried off by the exquisite beauty of a serene mosque, rising like a Palace of Khawarnaq⁷ in the centre of a sanctuary paved with white marble flagstones.

The circumference of the octagonal building is three hundred paces.⁸ It is encased with variegated veined marble (*'arqānī*), porphyry (*yashm*), Santa Croce (*summāqī*), and multicoloured veined marble (*ebru*) to the height of three men.^{fo. 91^r l. 45} And even this marble witnesses in a thousand ways to the wonders of the Creator.

From above the marble encasement to the 'fringe' the building is embellished artfully by multicoloured tiles, the most perfect ones on earth. On these tiles the Sūra *Yā Sīn* (xxxvi)¹⁰ is written round the building by Aḥmed Qara Hīṣāri. At each corner (of the octagon) some such 'verses' as *Sūrat Yā Sīn*, *salāmun, qaulan min rabbin raḥīm* (Sūra xxxvi, 58); *wa mā tauḥīqī illa bi-llāh* (Sūra xi, 90) are added in large clear letters (*haṭṭ-i jeli*).¹¹

fo. 91^r
l. 1

¹ The *kissé* was worth five hundred piasters.

² Sinān was known as the 'old master', and constantly referred to with that title in contemporary and later Turkish chronicles.

³ He was for eight years governor of Syria and died in October 1580.

⁴ This is a paraphrase of a number of Qur'ānic verses such as iii, 194; vii, 47; xiii, 23; xliii, 70.

⁵ The North Gate.

⁶ Should be only seven, as in Sura ii, 27; xvii, 46, &c.

⁷ Palace near el-Hīra and the Euphrates in Middle Mesopotamia, built by a Greek architect called by the Arabs Sinimmār.

⁸ The circumference of the substructure of the Dome of the Rock is 160 metres, each side of the octagon being 20 metres long.

⁹ The height of the marble encasing is 4.30 metres.

¹⁰ These tiles have been admirably described in E. T. Richmond's standard work, *The Dome of the Rock*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 23-76.

¹¹ This *haṭṭ-i jeli* (clear 'hand') is used for official documents only.

Above these inscribed tiles are spouts for the rain-water made of tinned copper. Above the crenellations of the octagon the roof is covered all around by lead sheets. Farther above, the drum is enclosed with tiles inscribed; the characters being ten feet high and of excellent execution. Then the serene dome rises to the height of the sky. Yet it is not spheric like other domes, but
 fo. 91^v elliptic, like the dome over the Shrine of Jelālu-d-Dīn Rūmī¹ at Qōnia.² Its
 l. 5 point reaches to the clouds. The noble crescent is twelve ells high.³ They say that it has been so richly gilt that its glittering can be seen at a distance of a day's journey.⁴ Indeed, it is luminous. Under this lofty dome is the Rock of Allah.

This shrine has four gates. There is a door looking south, another looking east, a third one, not covered (sc. from outside), looking north—it is the Gate of Paradise—and a fourth one looking west. These double doors are of bright yellow bronze, glittering like gold. No master could nowadays execute such a work. Each is ten ells high. Each door has double curtains of embroidered cloth,⁵ for the rainy season in Jerusalem is severe.

The interior of the building is also, like the exterior, encased with marble
 fo. 91^v slabs from top to bottom, such as porphyry, veined ('*arqānī*), saffron (*ṣafrānī*),
 l. 10 jaundice-yellow (*yeraqānī*), sumac-red and white variegated marble, marvelously veined. Each sort of marble is the very best of its kind. These flagstones are so cut as to form pairs; placed one beside the other they produce many curious beautiful (symmetrical) designs. Even outside the Southern Gate, on entering the Dome of the Rock, there is the picture of two cocks, beak against beak, with outspread wings, on the encasing marble to the right-hand side of the gate—fixed to the veined marble by divine miracle.⁶ They are so beautifully designed as to attract attention. Besides there are many floral and other designs in this veined marble.

¹ The famous mystic Jelālu-d-Dīn Rūmī, with the epithet *mevlāna*, 'our Lord', died in A.H. 672 (A.D. 1273). He is the founder of the order of the Whirling or Dancing Dervishes, who are called *mevlevi* after him. There is only one sheikh of this order in Jerusalem. The *zīkr* cannot be celebrated by them with less than ten participants. The last *zīkr* was celebrated in Jerusalem in 1922.

² The Dome over the Shrine of Mevlāna Jelālu-d-Dīn in Qōnia is not elliptic but conical (similar to other domed Seljūk monuments in Central Asia Minor, and to those of the Armenian ecclesiastical monuments throughout the Near East). Cf. Sarre, *Konia*, Pl. XXV.

³ This crescent is now exhibited together with the tiles of Aḥmed Qara Hīṣārli in the Museum of the Aqṣa Mosque. It is altogether 2.85 m. high. It is a ring (diameter 1.40 m.) and not a crescent.

⁴ This is not in agreement with facts. The greatest distance from which the Dome of the Rock is visible in the vicinity of Jerusalem does not exceed three miles as the crow flies, as the mountains around Jerusalem do not allow a view of the Ḥaram from a place farther off. The crescent is of sheet bronze.

⁵ These curtains are no longer *in situ*.

⁶ This 'picture' of the 'two pigeons' (and not cocks) is known to pilgrims the world over.

Windows in the first concentric wall overlook the Sanctuary. On their wonderful iridescent stained glass one reads either the words *lā ilāha illa-llāh* ('There is no God but Allah) or the verse, 'God is the light of heavens and earth' (Sūra xxiv, 35), or the names of the first four caliphs. It is a bewilderingly beautiful stained glass.¹

The second wall is strictly speaking not a wall, but a circular row of columns within the first one. It has altogether twenty-four columns, connected by arches supporting the high dome. Yet sixteen out of these twenty-four columns are monoliths, wrought by the hand of God Almighty Himself. They are of sumac-red colour (Santa Croce marble) and of indescribable beauty. The remaining eight are square piers standing at the cardinal points. The master builder lavishly adorned them with richly gilt ornamentations, as well as variegated paintings so that, when the sun rays fall through the stained window glass on these piers, a stranger, not accustomed to the sight, would be bewildered. fo. 91^v
l. 15

The ceiling between these twenty-four monoliths and the walls is master-fully painted on camel-brown background by the painters Bihzād² of Calcutta, Māni, Shāh Qu[li], Weli Jān, and Āghā (Āqa) Rizā.³ The ceiling is divided into eight parts, each being painted in a different pattern. fo. 91^v
l. 20

Under the arches supported by this colonnade are balconies for people to walk around and light the oil lamps. In front of this row of columns there is also, in the wall, the prayer-niche for the Ḥanefite rite, where a large congregation offers the five daily prayers.⁴

¹ Frames with great sections of stained glass from the clerestory windows of the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque el-Aqsa are now exhibited in the Aqsa Museum, the former Mosque of the Maghribis.

² It is impossible that the greatest of the Persian miniature painters, Bihzād of Herāt (and not of Calcutta), who lived from 1440 to 1514, painted the ceiling of the Dome of the Rock, although the ornaments used there are Persian and Turkish. Muẓaffar 'Alī, a pupil of Bihzād, decorated the walls and ceilings of the Chihil Sutūn palace at Iṣpahān. Persian artistic influence is also traceable in the tiles covering the octagon and drum of the Dome of the Rock. In some instances the ornaments show a great resemblance to those of the Mosque of Sheikh Ṣafīyyu-d-Dīn (died A.D. 1334) at Ardebīl.

³ Weli Jān (flor. end of sixteenth and beginning of seventeenth century) was a disciple of Āqa Rizā of Iṣpahān, both rivals of Bihzād. Ph. Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Leipzig, 1914, p. 185, and Sir Thomas Arnold tried to prove the identity of Rizā 'Abbāsī, 'Alī Rizā, and Āqa Rizā (cf. *Burlington Magazine*, No. CCXV, Vol. XXXVIII, February 1921). Shāh Qulī (Rūmī) of Tabriz, the chief painter at the court of Suleiman the Magnificent, belongs to the second generation of artists of the Bihzād School. Māni may be identified with the Turkish painter of illuminations, Qara Māmi of Constantinople, a pupil of Shāh Qulī.

⁴ While the official rite under Turkish rule was the Ḥanefite (followed also by families of government officers and notables in the larger towns, especially Jerusalem), the great majority of the population remained Shāfi'ite.

There are *imāms* and *muezzins* [attached to this sanctuary].

Over the door leading to the cave of the Rock there is the tribune for the *muezzins*.¹ But no pulpit exists (in the Dome of the Rock). Costly silken carpets are spread out on the floor.

Within this second colonnade there is a third circular row of columns, numbering twelve in all, sumac-red and variegated, each worth the annual revenue of Asia Minor. They are monoliths.

fo. 91^v The dome above, full of divine lights, rests on these circular colonnades.

l. 25 The ceiling between the second and third row of columns is also painted on a camel-brown background in an unusual way. This ceiling is divided into sixteen fields, each being painted with the skill of a past master in painting in a bewitching way.

Between these columns of the third row an iron grill has been placed. It is a masterpiece, marvellously wrought and attributed to David.²

There are doors through this iron grill to enter to the Rock. They, too, are artistically wrought gratings and open on all sides. Within this grill a railing of cypress-wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl³ surrounds the Holy Rock, and has no door whatever. No one whosoever may enter to the Rock. Only persons of high rank and noble birth may enter the enclosure to clean and wipe off the dust from the Holy Rock with a towel,⁴ once a year, while all pilgrims usually circumambulate it outside.⁵

DESCRIPTION OF THE ROCK OF ALLAH

fo. 91^v

l. 30 May my brother pilgrims not entertain any mysterious thoughts about it. That which is called the Rock of Allah is enclosed by this railing. It is a white rock. According to the circumference of the railing its size is one hundred paces.⁶ Through the railing one perceives a white stone, called the Rock of Allah. Some commentators are of the opinion that the verse 'To him are given the keys of heaven and earth' (Sūra xlii, 12) means (that God indicates thereby): 'First I have created my beloved Muḥammad on the face of the earth, and then I closed the earth with its keys, i.e. set its moun-

¹ The preacher's 'tribune' is to the right of the door leading to the grotto under the Rock.

² This is work dating from the time of the Latin Kingdom.

³ The present-day balustrade has no inlaid work whatever.

⁴ This office, too, is hereditary and is carried out by members of the Danaḥ Lel-Anṣāri family.

⁵ Pilgrims go round the iron grill for a 'visit'; they are allowed to pray inside close to the balustrade when not participating in the congregational prayers.

⁶ The author warns his fellow pilgrims not to expect a miraculous stone, like the Black (meteorite) Stone of Mecca, which is built in a high position. Here, in Palestine, he may call the Rock in the Temple area 'white', comparing its creamy colour with the weathered appearance of the rocks in the field, which are exposed to sun and rain and are grey.

tains.¹ Other commentators have it that by the keys primarily the Mountain of 'Arafāt² is hinted at and then the Rock of Allah. This latter is suspended by the power of the Almighty, as it is the *qibla* for all spirits who worship at fo. 91^v Jerusalem, both good and evil ones. Even in that remote time the Rock of¹ 35 Allah was a shrine.³ It was the *qibla* for Adam himself, as already mentioned.

The Prophet received the gift of prophecy at the age of forty in Mecca, where he lived for another thirteen years thereafter. At the age of fifty-three years and nine months Gabriel descended from God Almighty to him and told him: 'O Muḥammad, God Almighty sends you his peace saying, indicate a place where a sanctuary may be inaugurated.' So the Beloved of Allah⁴ assigned such a place to the trusted Gabriel.

Some erring persons say, 'No, he (i.e. Muḥammad) left Mecca for Jerusalem on the Burāq';⁵ but opinions differ widely on that subject.⁶ At any rate the fo. 91^v Prophet came to Jerusalem,⁷ where all the souls of the prophets welcomed him. l. 40 He performed his prayers in the grotto under the Holy Rock. No sooner did he pass his hands over his face⁸ than Gabriel descended from God and told him, 'O Muḥammad, God sends you his *salām* and has sent you the Burāq to fly to Paradise, ordering and saying, "Let him mount it, and come and

¹ Cf. the Mohammedan belief about the original substance of which the whole universe has been created, termed as *nūr Muḥammad*, the 'light of Muḥammad'.

² *Jebel 'Arafa* or *'Arafāt*, the 'Mountain of Recognition', is so called because according to a legend it was here that Adam recognized Eve. It is situated 18·333 km. south-east of the Mecca Sanctuary, and is one of the *manāsiku-l-ḥajj* (shrines and stations of the pilgrim route in and around Mecca). There the great sacrifice is offered on 'Idu-l-Adḥa (10th Dhū-l-ḥijja) in commemoration of the sacrifice of Ishmael (not Isaac) by Abraham. (Cf. Rif'at Pasha, *mir'ātu-l-ḥaramain*, Vol. I, pp. 226 ff.)

³ There is no doubt that the cave under the Rock was a sanctuary in prehistoric times. The tradition clung later on to the Rock. The entrance faces south-south-west, and not the east.

⁴ One of the epithets of Muḥammad, reminding one vividly of the Egyptian 'Beloved of Horus'. Similarly, Abraham is the 'Friend of Allah' (*khalīlu-llāh*), Moses the 'Interlocutor of Allah' (*kalīmu-llāh*), whilst Christ is the 'Spirit of God' (*rūḥu-llāh*).

⁵ The sphinx-like 'horse' (smaller than a mule and larger than a donkey), mounted by the Prophet during the Night Journey (*lailatu-l-isrā'*, *lailatu-l-mi'rāj*, 27th Rajab). It is stated that its human face showed definite feminine traits.

⁶ Moslem commentators and traditionalists differ about this Night Journey. 'Āyisha, e.g., is reported to have summarized the time required by it with that of replacing a pitcher (which had been knocked over by the Prophet whilst rising from his bed), before any drop of water could be spilled. Cf. also Ibnu-l-Firkāh, *fī faḍā'il baiti-l-maqdis*, ed. by C. D. Matthews in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. XV, 1935, pp. 73 ff., where different, mostly Umayyad traditions are given about the Holy Rock and the Night Journey.

⁷ There is no conclusive evidence that the Prophet Muḥammad ever visited Jerusalem in one of his commercial travels to Syria.

⁸ It is usual for a Moslem after praying to pass with his hands over his face, as if to impart blessing to it (*tabarrukan*).

behold my Throne,¹ the Eternal Tablet,² my Pencil³ as well as my eight Paradises. Let him see me without medium and behold my splendour.” Thereupon the Prophet obeyed the divine order, left the grotto of the Rock and
 fo. 91^r made two prostrations⁴ on the Rock of Allah. Even unto this very day the
 l. 45 marks of his noble head whilst prostrating, and the impressions made by his knees on the Rock are still visible—so they say. Yet one is not allowed to visit them. After that the Apostle of Allah said: ‘In the Name of the Most Merciful God’, mounted the Burāq and flew, reciting the verse: ‘Embark thereon, in the Name of God while it moveth forward and while it standeth still, for my Lord is gracious and merciful’ (Sūra xi, 43).⁵ Saying this he spurred the Burāq (horse) and easily arrived at the highest heaven. Then he heard the rumbling of a thunder. Turning his blessed head towards the noise he beheld the Rock of Allah behind him, (as if) imploring him: ‘O Muḥammad, take me along into the Presence of Allah’, speaking with a tongue. Immediately
 fo. 92^r the Apostle of Allah addressed the Rock thus: ‘O Rock of Allah, remain sus-
 l. 1 pended, by God’s permission.’ Thereupon the rock remained in that suspended position in the air, by God’s permission. Even now it is still hanging and in no way connected with the ground. And because it is suspended between heaven and earth it is called the ‘Hanging Stone’. But it is the Rock of Allah. They say that the words of the Chroniclers hold true in this case, namely, that it is the second key⁶ created on the face of the earth.

The chroniclers relate also that there are two rocks which came from the heavenly paradise. One is the Black Stone⁷ which was originally of ruby colour. During the great Flood of Noah it remained in the water of the abyss, and sinners wiped their faces against it. Thus it changed its colour and became the ‘black stone’. The other is said to be this Rock of Allah—yet only God knows the truth of it.

fo. 92^r The late Sultan Aḥmed⁸ had a richly gilt canopy made, the cover of which
 l. 5 was a curtain studded with gold and jewels. The corners were fastened with

¹ Sūra ix, 130.

² *el-lauḥu-l-mahfūz*, the preserved Tablet (Sūra lxxxv, 22) on which God’s decrees with reference to mankind are written.

³ *el-qalam*, the (reed) Pen with which God wrote everything to be created or to happen once for all. It is the title of Sūra lxviii.

⁴ These two prostrations are considered to be the ‘saluting of the Mosque’ (*tahīyyatu-l-masjid*) and must be offered upon entering the mosque, before being seated.

⁵ The following translation is offered as an alternative of that rendered by Sale: ‘Embark in it; its moving and anchoring is in the name of God.’

⁶ The first ‘key’ is Jabal ‘Arafāt, near Mecca.

⁷ For a picture of this meteorite see Ibrahim Rif‘at Pasha, *mir’ātu-l-ḥaramain*, Vol. I, p. 298.

⁸ Ahmed I, 1589–1617, the fourteenth Ottoman sultan.

silken cords, thus covering the Holy Rock. From this canopy to the highest point of the dome was a height from forty to fifty ells. The interior of this dome, indigo-coloured, looks as if it was painted all over its whole surface with gold, studded with precious stones set in enamel. The painter's name is Shāh Quli.

When the Rock flew after the Prophet of Allah a cavity remained underneath, when it was stopped in its course through the air by the orders of the Apostle.¹ This cave is the resting-place of two hundred people.² Its entrance is behind the prayer-niche of the Hanefite rite, just under the tribune of the *muezzins*. Access is gained to it by a flight of stone steps. Its door is of grilled iron. Below it there is a spacious room and a prayer place for pious pilgrims. fo. 92^r
l. 10

One of the caliphs of bygone days had a thin partition wall erected under the Holy Rock, in order that pilgrims desiring to visit the cave might not be awed, but could offer their prayers with presence of mind and in peace. For the sight of the suspended rock frightened pilgrims and caused many a pregnant woman to miscarry at the very sight of it. Yet a finger may easily be introduced, or even at some places a hand, between the rock and the wall.

THE SHRINES (*maqāmāt*) OF THE CAVE OF THE ROCK OF ALLAH

As you descend the steps, the shrine of Gabriel and his prayer-niche are to the right-hand side of the cave, while the shrine of David is on the left. Whilst praying there the Prophet touched the Holy Rock with his noble turban and left some hollowed marks (in the stone).³ A visitor to the place should first stroke that place with his hand and then his face, praying: 'O Allah, make my face shine, by the blessing of the crown of the ascension of Muḥammad—may peace be upon him.' Coming from the recess of el-Khidr and the cell of Solomon to the Prophet, the trusty Gabriel did not enter from the side of the cave, but the Rock split above it asunder. From this hole, through which he ascended, is a large oil lamp kept burning ever since the night of the heavenly night journey. Servants always replenish the oil, renew the lamp-wick, and are in charge of this service. The interior of the cave is thereby so lighted that he who prays two prostrations under this most luminous light, will never be left destitute of God's favours—with God's help. fo. 92^r
l. 15

And that is all.

Then there is a small, slender marble column near the entrance to the cave.

¹ These time-honoured quaint legends are still a favourite subject with the present-day guides.

² The cave could scarcely hold forty persons standing. The reference may be to the 'spirits of the departed' who assemble in the Well of the Souls on every Friday to attend the congregational prayers.

³ These are shown from the cave underneath. They figure in every Arabic guide-book to the Ḥaram area.

fo. 92^r It is placed against the Holy Rock in the hope of supporting it in case the
 l. 20 Rock should tremble, so that people will feel safe from danger. The entrance to this cave is facing south. All these monuments are within the Dome of the Rock of Allah. It is a huge elliptical dome, as if it had descended from the crown of the celestial spheres. No such building was ever erected since the Fall of Adam, neither have travellers seen anything similar in all the inhabited quarters of the world.

THE SHRINES OUTSIDE THE BALUSTRADE OF THE HOLY ROCK

First there is a silver grating over a cupboard, wherein the blessed trace of the Prophet's right foot is filled with rose-water day and night. Pilgrims used to 'bathe' their faces with it. Opposite is the Buckler of Ḥamza¹ placed on a re-entering angle (*bujāq*). It is known to some people as the Mirror of Alexander. On one side it is concave (?) (*mājūr*), and a great talisman, as if it were the mirror of the universe. Should a thousand men look into it at the same time, each of them would be visible. It is a most remarkable piece of work.

fo. 92^r The humble writer testifies to its being the Mirror of Alexander.²

l. 25 On the grill of the Rock of Allah David made pomegranates³ of iron; they are really a marvel of the Apostle of God and an artful work of David, our prophet—peace be upon him!

On the four cardinal points are the shrines of the first four caliphs—may Allah be pleased with all of them. To the east is the shrine of 'Alī, to the south that of Abu Bekr, the Truthful, at the western gate that of 'Umar, and at the north or Paradise Gate that of 'Uthmān, 'of the two Lights' (*dhū-n-nūrain*).⁴

The Rock receives its light from the lantern hanging down from the Dome. Whosoever prays two prostrations under these oil lamps, a thousand exactly in number, will most assuredly attain the greater part of his heart's desires.

Besides, there are hanging in this shrine another three thousand lamps, as if they were branches of sunshine—to say nothing of several very expensive candelabra.

fo. 92^r Each of them is the masterpiece of an accomplished artist. They are so
 l. 30 costly that not even the revenue of Egypt from a number of years would buy them, to say nothing of the precious crystal works.

¹ Described at length in Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. I, pp. 219 ff.

² It disappeared about 1886. Cf. *P. E. F. Quarterly Statement* for 1903, p. 175.

³ Schick, *Beit el Makdas*, Jerusalem, 1887, p. 12, mentions the 'pomegranates of David' as having been a candelabrum with pomegranates, then no more *in situ*.

⁴ Honorific title of the third caliph, because of his marriage to two of the Prophet's daughters, Ruqayya and Umm Kulthūm.

The rugs and carpets in this shrine are for worship, and no similar carpets could be found even in a king's palace. As at present the Ottoman *pādishāh* is the most honoured and respected sovereign the world over, and famous amongst all kings as far as the Empire of China, and as this heart-rejoicing news is repeated by each wind, and the sultan is praised for his unlimited bountifulness,¹ he has made this shrine a paradise unequalled on earth, and embellished it with paintings of Bihzād. For the Ottoman sultan alone could be the possessor of the House of Allah.

Thank God I visited each site (in the Ḥaram area) ten days before the feast of Ramaḍan A.H. 1082 (A.D. 22–31 January 1672), accomplished a *khatm* at the *lailatu-l-quḍr* (27th Ramaḍan) in the Aqṣa Mosque, within the House of Allah, and offered its merits to the spiritual benefit of those departed believers buried in Jerusalem.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ḤARAM, THE AQṢA, AND THE ROCK OF ALLAH fo. 92^r

The platform of the Holy Rock is a field covered with white marble, to begin l. 35 with. From seven places doors lead to it. They are double-arched and have no door-leaves. On the east is a door with a single arch. By a flight of eighteen stone steps one ascends to the platform of the Holy Rock.

The approach from the north is through three doorways, by stone staircases of twenty steps each. On the south there are three other arched doorways. They too have no door-leaves. Also through them access is gained by a flight of twenty steps each, leading up to the platform of the Holy Rock. Thus it may be reached from all sides. It is seven Mecca ells higher than the ground around it. For the sanctuary is situated like a palace amidst a verdant valley, fo. 92^r with the Rock of Allah as its centre. The ground underneath is honeycombed l. 40 with caves from one end to the other. It was in these caves that Solomon imprisoned the evil spirits. The traces of their fetters and chains are still visible. People who are courageous enough enter these caves and have a look round. It is a dark and frightful place. Even at present it is the sleeping-place of evil genii, and is completely filled with dust. Through splits in the doors one may peep into them. These caves are filled to the brim with skeletons. The Rock of Allah is above them. Its dome is called the white villa (*āq yayly*) because it is covered with natural white marble. Persons weary and distressed will leave the sanctuary full of hope and joy (by God's permission). The Ḥaram does away with grief.

I have also measured the whole circumference of its raised platform. Its width is two hundred paces from east to west, another two hundred paces from

¹ The text is here corrupted and the translation of this sentence conjectural.

the western side, while the southern and northern sides are each three hundred
fo. 92^r paces long. Thus reckoning the area of the platform of the Rock of Allah,
l. 45 the circumference of the precincts is one thousand paces. And in the centre
of these thousand square paces the luminous dome rises into the sky.
And that is all.

SITES TO BE VISITED WITHIN THE ḤARAM (*maqāmāt*)

First comes the Dome of the Rock of Allah.

Between the western and the northern gates of the Dome, looking to the
north, and close to the outer walls of the building is a 'red prayer-niche',
qubbet en-Naby. A small dome rises over four slender small columns. Its
fo. 92^v prayer-niche is low and of natural reddish stones. It was in ancient times ruby-
l. 1 coloured. Affected by the blackness of the primordial waters of the abyss,
during the flood of Noah's time, it changed its colour and has now a reddish
hue.

To the right of this prayer-niche is a nice octagonal edifice¹ with a dome, the
Dome of the Night Journey of the Prophet (*qubbet el-mi'rāj*). It has two
alabaster colonnettes at each corner, set in by a master mason. Its structure is
encased in white marble, and the dome covered by fine lead, with a golden
crescent on its top. Its door looks to the north, but it is now closed on all
sides. Its contents are unknown. It has no windows. It would seem indiscreet
to enter it, as it has been closed. Above the entrance this dated inscription and
the Qur'anic verses are written:² 'In the Name of the most merciful God. May
Allah be pleased with his Prophet our Lord Muḥammad and his Followers.
fo. 92^v God knows whatever good deeds you perform. (Sūra ii, 193, in part); Whoso-
l. 5 ever does a good action, no matter how small it be, will find it(s compensation)
(Sūra xcix, 7). This is the dome of the Prophet (may Allah be pleased with
him and his followers), which has been mentioned by the historians in their
chronicles. The (soul) yearning for the grace of his Lord, the noble prince,
the great general . . .³ of the Commander of the Faithful, Abu 'Umar b.
'Uthmān b. 'Azīz b. 'Abdullāh personally undertook with his own money to
make it conspicuous after it had disappeared and to rebuild it after it had been
ruined—in the months of [A.H.] 577 (A.D. 1181–2).'⁴

The Well of the Spirits is in front of the Northern Gate.⁵ The rain-water

¹ This was the baptistry of the Crusaders.

² For a correct rendering of this inscription see Van Berchem, *C.I.A. Jerusalem, Haram*, pp. 37 ff.

³ Thirteen words are missing in the original. The name 'Azīz seems to be misread from *el-a'azz*, the most glorious. . . .

⁴ The correct date of this inscription is, however, A.H. 597 (A.D. 1200–1).

⁵ The present-day Well of the Spirits is under the central flagstone of the grotto under the Holy

collected from the shrine flows into this Well of the Souls. Because it revives the souls of those people drinking from it in July, it has been called the Well of Souls. It is said to be a huge cistern.

At the South Gate of the Ḥaram is a pulpit which the Prophet ascended in the night of his heavenly journey to admonish the souls of all the Prophets. It is a small pulpit. In times of drought people of the province gather around it to offer prayers for rain.¹

Near by is the Dome of the Souls and close to that the Gate of the Balances, where are painted balances and scales.²

In front of the Eastern Gate of the Dome of the Rock, at a distance of some seven paces, is the Judgement Seat of the Prophet David—may peace be upon him. Built below like a palace, its dome rests wholly on columns, there being no wall whatever.³ The outer circle is made up of nine precious columns, while the inner circle consists of six columns. The dome rises above them. The interior and exterior of this dome is covered with pure Kāshān tiles of lapis-lazuli colour. The dome itself is covered with well-wrought lead similar to that of the Suleimāniye Mosque at Istanbul.⁴

The circumference of this edifice is fifty paces. The floor is paved with white natural marble flagstones.⁵ It has a prayer-niche, where I offered some prayers and praise.

Here end the sites of the Dome of the Rock to be visited.

Again, in arriving at the Gate of the Balances from within the Sanctuary, one notices a sun-dial constructed on the marvellous system of Pythagoras. It is unique and unequalled within the inhabited parts of the world. The *muezzins* for both the Mosques of the Holy Rock and el-Aqṣa perform their calls to prayer in agreement with this dial. Accordingly the call to prayer

Rock. The cistern referred to, lying due north of this Gate, is *bīr el-janne* (Cistern of [the Gate of] Paradise), which word Evliya may have confused with *arwāḥ* (spirits) owing to the similarity in the pronunciation of *janne* (Paradise) and *jinn*, or *jān* (spirits, genii). It is described at length in *Survey of Western Palestine, Jerusalem*, p. 217, under No. 1; Schick, *Stiftshütte und Temple*, p. 302, No. 31, and Kuemmel, *Materialien zur Topographie des Alten Jerusalem*, p. 153, No. 1. Of medieval travellers Ibn Fadl Allah el-ʿUmari mentions fifteen cisterns in the Ḥaram area; cf. his *masālik el-abṣār* (ed. Ahmed Zaki Pasha), Cairo, 1924, p. 151.

¹ This is the summer pulpit of the Qādī Burhānu-d-Dīn b. Jamā'a, built of some old material, composed of marble and local stones. For his many building activities see Mujīru-d-Dīn, *el-uns el-jalīl*, p. 512.

² There are nowadays no traces of paintings on that gate.

³ This is the present-day *Qubbet es-Silsile* (Dome of the Chain), constructed originally to hold the treasury of the Sanctuary, similar to those in the Umayyad Mosque, Damascus, and the great mosque at Ḥama dating from the Umayyad period.

⁴ The pavement is now of marble and local stone, arranged in geometrical designs.

⁵ No trace of this sun-dial is left.

resounds from the minarets of the *madrasas*, as there is no special minaret for either the Mosque of the Holy Rock or that of the Aqşa.

On all sides of the Shrine of the Holy Rock are rooms belonging to forty *madrasas*.¹ In each of them live pious people considered to be wonder-work-
fo. 92^v ing dervishes. Some of them break their fast only once a week, while others
l. 20 may not have tasted meat for forty or fifty years. Such are these pious souls who lead here a mystical life, while they are at the same time well versed in worldly knowledge and sciences.

Here ends the description of the Sanctuary of the Holy Rock of Allah.

And that is all.

The two Sanctuaries of the Holy Rock and the Aqşa described above are surrounded by a great plain. It is so large that standing at one end of it one cannot discern the people at its other end whether they are men or women. It is verdant meadow. Here are the measurements of its circumference: at the side of the Aqşa four hundred paces; from the north, on the side of Bāb Ḥuṭṭa, there are also four hundred paces. The east side, being the wall of the fortress,
fo. 92^v measures six hundred paces, and the western side, that of the Sheri'a Court,
l. 25 measures as much. On this reckoning this area is two thousand paces in circumference. It is a promenading-place embellished with roses, hyacinths, myrtle, filled with the intoxicating twittering of the nightingale, abounding with trees, where birds have their nests, other trees bearing fruits of the kind of the good Ṭūba tree in Paradise.² Besides, there are mahaleb trees, poplars,

¹ Most of these *madrasas* have been converted into private dwelling-houses. An official Turkish list of these colleges and religious buildings (dated 2 November 1907) enumerates fifty-one, of which five only were then in a ruinous state.

² This Ṭūba tree has the shape of a cypress. The name is an Aramaic loan-word (cf. Sūra xiii, 28) denoting beatitude or bliss.

According to a legend it is so large and so densely covered with evergreen foliage that a horse galloping at full speed for a hundred years on end would not be able to leave its shade. The stem is of pure gold, its fruits are talismans in many precious stones. They would drop either delicious meals or costly garments, according to the wish of the really true believers. The unbelievers, however, cannot perceive the tree. There are branches of this tree ('with flowers and fruits of every imaginable kind all the year round') in the house of every just man; they have the same distinctive features of the tree. The Ṭūba tree is represented in Moslem Art perhaps more than any other tree. Selected references may show the extent to which it enjoyed popularity.

A. *Persian*. Pottery and Tiles: *Survey of Persian Art*, pls. 672, 675, 676, 687, 688, 693, 723, 726, and 804. Manuscripts: *Survey of Persian Art*, pls. 847, 870, 873, 874, 876, 878, and 922. Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, pls. 74 and 78 (both from Herat). Brocade: Glück and Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, pl. 368. Satin: *Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 1011. Silk: *op. cit.*, pl. 1035. Velvet: *op. cit.*, pl. 1057. Carpets: *op. cit.*, pls. 1245 and 1258.

B. *Turkish*. Pottery and Tiles: Koechlin, *Oriental Art*, pl. 46; Butler, *Islamic Pottery*, pls. 15 and 86; *Exposition d'Art musulman*, pls. 27, 40, 41, and 43; Raymond, *Altürkische Keramik*, i, pls. 24 and 34. Granjean, *Céramique orientale*, pl. 27 (for Damascus: pls. 7 and 10); Prisse

weeping willows, and several thousands of olive and fig trees as well as remarkable cypress trees of well-balanced shape.

On eighty-three sites small platforms are to be met with for prayers in the open, established in the shadow of lofty trees. Each of them has a prayer-niche, each being the abode of a saint of Allah.

DESCRIPTION OF GATES OF THE ḤARAM LYING ON PUBLIC ROADS

The portico at the Gate of Mary, which looks north, is the abode of Indians. In the same line is the Ḥuṭṭa Gate mentioned in the second Sūra (verse 55): 'Say "Ḥyṭṭa", and he will forgive you your sins.' From there to the corner of fo. 92^v the lesser Bāb Ḥuṭṭa, also on the same line, is the Bāb en-Nāẓir, just behind l. 30 the Palace of the Pasha.¹

These five (!) Gates open to the north and have wooden doors. Beyond them is the Gate of the Ghawārne and the Iron Gate. About iron the noble verse has been inspired in the Chapter of the Iron (Sūra lvii, 25), 'And we caused iron to come down'.

Then comes the Cotton Gate (*Bāb el Qaṭṭānīn*) and the Gate of the Place of Ablutions (*Bāb el-Mutawadda'*) and that of the Chain (*Bāb es-Silsile*). This latter is a double gate with bronze leaves. It is also known as the Gate of the Court of Justice (*Bāb el-Mahkame*) and is very crowded.

Then follows the Gate of the Maghribis (*Bāb el-Maghārbe*), a small gate with an iron door. These are six gates in all, counting from the (western) corner of the Palace of the Pasha. They all are on the western side (of the Ḥaram area).

The southern side, i.e. that of the Aqṣa, and the eastern one are taken up by the walls of the fortress. Both have no gates, as there are ravines and escarpments along them. These are the ten high portals of the Ḥaram, as mentioned. fo. 92^v l. 35

All along the southern, western, and northern side of the Ḥaram enclosures are porticoes with domes, resting over three hundred and sixty columns (and piers). All porticoes are lit every night by oil lamps. They become as bright as broad daylight. In these porticoes live dervishes from India, Sind, Balkh, Persia, and Kurds, Tartars, Moghuls, and Turks. They need by night no special candle lights, for (the oil lamps give so much light that) they can read the Qur'ān (by that light), and recite the *zikr* and offer God the best prayers.

d'Avennes, *L'Art arabe d'après les monuments du Caire*, ii, pl. 103 (Turkish tiles from Egypt); J. de la Nozière, *La Décoration marocaine*, publishes an embroidery on pl. 46 with a Tūba tree as main motive.

¹ This is the present-day College of *Rawḍatu-l-ma'ārif* (the first Station of the Via Dolorosa). It was used as a cavalry barrack by the Turks before the War. Formerly it was the Governorate. The square minaret at its south-western end is still known as the *mēdanīṭ es-sarāy(a)*, minaret of the Government Offices.

Roads lead between these porticoes to the gates mentioned. They are enclosed on both sides by walls (?). Each portico has a prayer-niche.¹ No porticoes are along the eastern wall, as this is at the same time that of the fortress. Yet there are some cells in a number of bastions. From each gate
fo. 92^v paved paths, five to ten ells wide, laid out with white marble, lead through
l. 40 verdant meadows to the Aqşa Mosque or the Dome of the Rock, so that no atom of dust would touch the foot of the passer-by.

There are two hundred rooms for *madrasas* around this large enclosure surrounding the lower sections of the Sanctuary of the Rock of Allah. The total number of *madrasas* in Jerusalem amounts to some three hundred and sixty *madrasa* and *zāwiya*, both large and small.

Yet the *madrasa* which is the best and the most cared for is that of Bāb Ḥuṭṭa. It has a minaret. Then comes that of Bāb en-Nāẓir. It is just behind the Palace of the Pasha, in the corner (of the Ḥaram enclosure). It has a slender minaret.

The Madrasa Ghōraniye at the Bāb el-Ghawārneh has no minaret. The
fo. 92^v Madrasa Sulṭāniye at the Bāb el-Mutawaḍḍa is the best.² It has a minaret
l. 45 with three storeys which is one hundred and thirty feet high. The humble writer ascended it and enjoyed a complete view over the whole town.

Besides these three there are no other minarets in the Ḥaram area. Neither have the mosques of el-Aqşa and that of the Holy Rock any minarets. The Islamic call for prayer is recited from the heights of this latter minaret, as it is near the town. As the mosques of el-Aqşa and that of the Holy Rock in this meadow are far from the town no minarets were built for either of them.

Behind the Bāb el-Maghārbe in this enclosure stands the massive, beautiful building of the Mosque of the rite of the Mālikites.³ It measures three hun-
fo. 93^r dred feet from the north door to the prayer niche, and is seventy feet wide.
l. 1 Yet it has no minaret either. But after the first morning prayer a chanting of the *zikr* and prayers is offered here in such a way as to bewilder lovers of prayer and mystics. It is a mosque covered with lead and well frequented.

The courtyard of the Sheri'a Court over against the Gate of the Chain⁴ gives on to the great platform. Near by is a royal palace of four storeys, a lofty marvellous building, yet not to be compared with the Dome of the Holy Rock. On all sides it is encased with jasper-coloured, variegated, sumac-red marble of different kinds.

fo. 93^r It would take us too long if we would try to describe the buildings around
l. 5

¹ The text is not quite clear.

² The *madrasa-l-ashrafiyya* of the Sultan Qayt Bāy.

³ It was known till 1927 as the Mosque of the Maghribis, and has since been converted into a Museum.

⁴ This is not a proper courtyard but a gateway.

the platform as best we could. Suffice it that we describe the shrines around it, for this too is meritorious.

THE SHRINES OF THE AQṢA MOSQUE

Behind the Mosque of the Maghribis is that of the Mālikite rite, then comes the Aqṣa proper, and the shrine of el-Khiḍr, and the Dome of the Prophet David at the farthest end of the Aqṣa Mosque. In the east corner of this sanctuary is the Mosque of the Ḥanbalite rite, built over twelve piers. It is domed. Caves extend in the ground beneath it, until they reach the Aqṣa.¹ Here, in these caves, too, Solomon imprisoned the evil spirits. In some places there are caves resting on seventy columns.

East of these caves, at the angle of the walls, a stone staircase of twenty steps leads down to the Shrine of Mary, where she lived. Here she took refuge from the comments of people that offended her. This cave has a small prayer-niche facing east. In it is the Cradle of Jesus, a nest-like polished shining stone.² fo. 93^r

Within this cave is another shrine to commemorate the followers of Jesus,¹ l. 10 called his disciples (*ḥawāriyyūn*), and farther off that of Gabriel. These 'five' shrines are in these caves. Yet the amazing thing about them is that one has to descend twenty steps on a stone stairway, where not even the least gleam could penetrate. It is a dark room. The Creator, however, ordained that daylight should be around the Cradle of Jesus, and lo, the cave was light by the power of God's almighty Eye.³ Though there is no fire in this cave, yet it is luminous. Nor is there anything burning, neither an oil lamp or a candle light. Such is the Light of Allah!

To the right of this cave there is a small hole. Through it some devil-daring fo. 93^r persons enter to have a look. It is such a dark place that one could not tell l. 15 another man. The cave is large, extending as far as the Aqṣa Mosque. In fact it was the prison where Solomon imprisoned the evil spirits. It is a dark passage, where the skeletons of spirits and fairies abound. Even a small skeleton measured seven spans. Some skulls were as large as those of the Greeks.⁴ Farther back one encounters in this cave birds of the size of a pigeon, who whirl about and attack man in the face (= bats).

The floor of the caves is covered with a fine sand resembling the sand of the hour-glass. In bygone days the evil spirits used to soil the sand and sleep on it.

In some holes of the rock we saw some ends of rope made of palm fibre. The

¹ These are the underground structures of the Temple area, known as Solomon's Stables.

² *Mahd 'Isā* is a large stone block, lying flat, hollowed out regularly. It has a conch at its top and is Byzantine. The form gave rise to the belief quoted above.

³ There is an arrow-slit at the top of the staircase.

⁴ *rūm kellesi*.

guides showing us round stated that Solomon used to fasten the evil spirits
 fo. 93^r with these ropes. Indeed, it is illogical. But let us suppose that he really did
 l. 20 tie those spirits in a miraculous way. According to the chronicle of Muḥam-
 mad ibn Iṣ-ḥāq¹ there is a period of sixteen hundred years between Solomon
 and the birth of the Prophet. Adding to these years the time elapsed between
 that birth and our visit to Jerusalem, it totals to two thousand and forty-three
 years, since I visited it in A.H. 1083 (1672). The Apostle of Allah lived for
 sixty-three years. Taking all this into account and the time from Solomon
 until A.H. 1083, one wonders how these ropes wherewith the spirits have been
 fastened resisted decay for three thousand and six hundred and forty years.
 Upon this question of mine the 'ulema of Jerusalem deigned to answer the
 humble inquirer that Solomon was lord over men and spirits, beasts, and birds.
 This being so he very ably made ropes from the palm fibres, strong enough
 to tie up the evil spirits. And the work of his own hand could not decay.
 fo. 93^r This answer satisfied me.

l. 25 In short, one may see on the sand in these caves many traces of animals bear-
 ing no resemblance whatever to the painting of any human being.

Our guides returned forthwith. At the entrance of one of the caves some of
 them piled up five to ten stones on the sand at the hole, so that the visitors were
 able to leave the caves. After having left the Grotto of Mary we offered God
 our praise and thanks.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PILLAR OF THE SIRĀṬ BRIDGE²

Ascending from there and going to the north we came to the shrine of the
 Sirāṭ bridge, protruding from the walls of the fortress. It is a round, polished
 fo. 93^r reddish stone, well smoothed, so that a bird could only fly round about it with-
 l. 30 out being able to perch on it. Yet the bird in the air above it cannot remain there,
 as the valley below is some thousand ells deep. It reminds one of the deepest
 pit of Hell (*ghayya*). In fact it is called the Valley of Hell, for it contains all
 the tombs of the Jews and is the site of perdition of those irreligious people.

This column which resembles the Sirāṭ bridge was built into the wall already
 before the time of (the restoration of the fortifications by) Sultan Suleiman
 (the Magnificent). It was built over the foundation rock protruding from the
 wall. A culprit would be caused to walk over this column to its end, when

¹ Flourished about the middle of the eighth century A.D. He was an authority on Mohammedan tradition. The 'chronicle' referred to is his *kitābu-l-mubtada'*, which deals with the biography of the Prophet.

² This is the bridge across the infernal fire, which all mankind will pass on the Day of Judgement. It has Zoroastrian and Jewish parallels. It is believed to be thinner than a hair and sharper than the edge of a sword.

he would be set free: if he fell, they would not worry about burying him, as he would anyway go to Hell; they would leave his corpse to decay in that valley.

Ever since pre-Islamic times this column remained in its position. In the year . . .¹, whilst the fortress was being rebuilt by order of Sultan Suleiman, the foundations of the fortification happened to be laid on the site of this column. It was removed from its position and built into the wall, but in a fo. 93^r higher place than before, protruding from its course. It was therefore called l. 35 the 'Bridge of Sirāt'.

We left it and went to sites and places, cisterns and corners connected with the wall, and to different shrines and prayer places on the platform, situated here and there all over the verdant meadow and then went to the Moslem quarters within the fortress.

The shrines of the Gate of Repentance (*Bābu-t-Tauba*) and that of Mercy (*Bāb er-Rahma*)² of the Children of Israel are connected with the walls of the fortress. People in bygone days would repent at the one gate and receive mercy and be delivered from their pain and anxiety at the other.

Above the Gate of Mercy is a monastery of the Dervishes of the Order of Yazīdu-l-Bisṭāmi,³ where a magnificent *zikr* is held every Thursday night.

In the line of buildings falls also the Shrine of Solomon and his Throne,⁴ which are connected with the wall of the fortress, having two high domes and seven windows. Here is the Throne of Solomon. These shrines have been mentioned after that of the Grotto of Mary. They lie on the east side of the Haram enclosure.

ENUMERATION OF THE SHRINES ON THE NORTH SIDE

fo. 93^r
l. 40

Bāb Ḥuṭṭa is the shrine of the prophet Qaffāh b. . . .⁵ Nearby is the Dome of the Spirits (*qubbatu-l-arwāḥ*), with its small dome rising over eight slender columns.

Opposite the Dome of Solomon and the Gate of the *Maḥkama*, near the water-basin of el-Imām esh-Shāfi'i, is the Dome of Moses⁶ and the public

¹ Not mentioned in manuscript.

² These two gates are the present-day Bāb Ḥuṭṭa and *Bābu-l-Asbāt* (of the Tribes). The belief about them is of Jewish origin.

³ Order founded in A.H. 261 (A.D. 874). At present it has no representative in Jerusalem. The late Sheikh Nāji-l-Qazzāz used to hold the usual *zikrs* there during the winter season. He belonged to no particular order.

⁴ *Kursi Slimān*, perhaps connected with Suleimān b. 'Abdu-l-Malik, A.D. 691. It is close to the Golden Gate, and in part higher than the Wall.

⁵ Space provided in MS. for his father's name. No such name could be found in Moslem hagiography.

⁶ Known also as the *qubbat eṣ-ṣakhra-ṣ-ṣghīra* (Dome of the Small Rock) or, more commonly, as *qubbat shaqfī eṣ-ṣakhra* (Dome of the 'Chip' of the Rock). It is a Crusader building. Cf. Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, ii, p. 604 and Fig. 248 (a).

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fountains of the great Imām Abu Ḥanīfa and of the Imām 'Alī. These were rebuilt by Dāniāl Pasha in honour of the Imām 'Alī.

As to the Shrines of Ezra,¹ the Prophet of Allah, the invisible spirits, the trustworthy pious people, the Four 'supports' of the Moslem faith, the Ṣūfis in their different classes, and the spiritual leaders of their age—these are on fo. 93^r separate daises situated in the Ḥaram enclosure.

l. 45 Yet the lead-roofed monuments, shrines, and domes in the Sanctuary of the Rock, their *madrasas*, *zāwiyas*, and other buildings, with their livid colour, extend from the Mount of Olives to Jerusalem.

(*To be continued*)

Translated and annotated by ST. H. STEPHAN.

¹ No such shrine exists now in the Ḥaram area. The other shrines mentioned in the same sentence are also not traceable.

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